PROF. T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAN SIXTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY COMMEMORATION VOLUME

COLLECTED PAPERS
OF
PROF. T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAN

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY
ANNAMALAINAGAR
JANUARY, 1961

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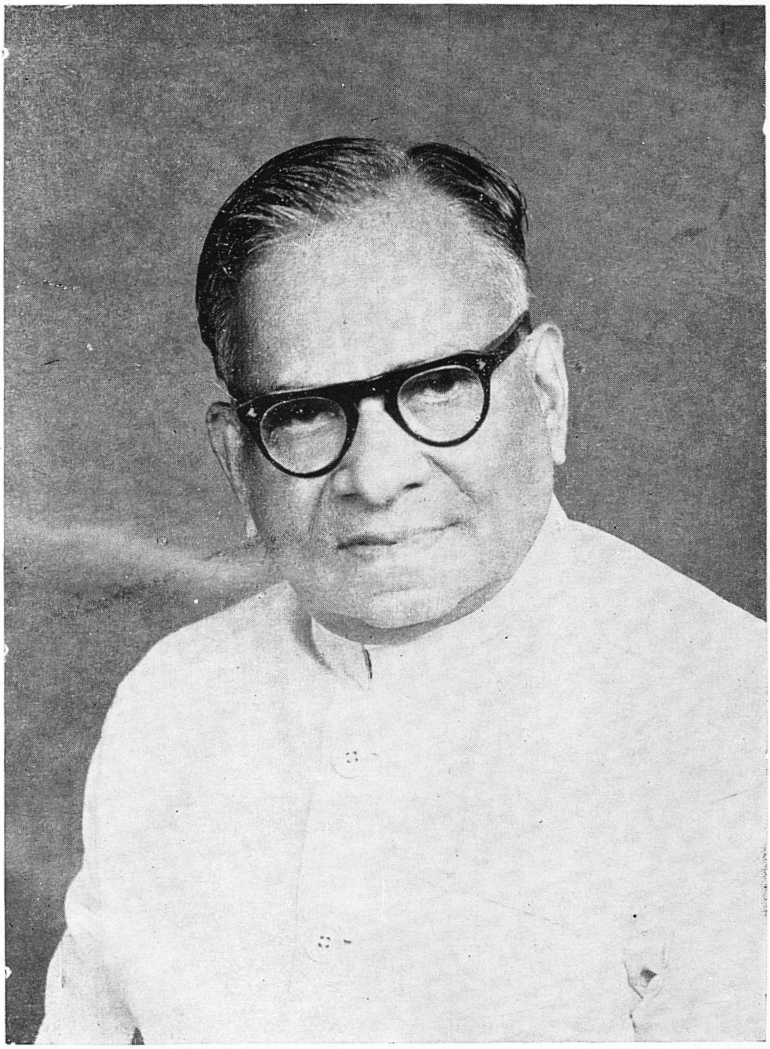

Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran

FOREWORD

This volume contains a selection of learned articles by Professor. T. P. Meenakshisundaran, on Tamil Language and Literature, History, Linguistics and Philosophy.

An eminent scholar, loved and respected throughout the country, the range of his scholarship is wide; it covers many languages besides Tamil, viz., English, Sanskrit, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Hindi, German, and French, and he is justly known in Tamil as "Panmozihppulavar", [Scholar of many languages].

In 1955, Professor T. P. Meenakshisundaran was the President of the Tamil Section of the All-India Oriental Conference and his address to that section won the appreciation of our respected and beloved Vice-President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. All his life he has been working selflessly for the growth and enthronement of Tamil. Trained under a great teacher, viz., Sri Vadivel Chettiar, he had the good fortune of having been a co-worker along with Thiru Vi. Ka., the "Tamil Muni" [Tamil Sage] of revered memory. Along with him he founded the Madras Tamil Sangam for the advancement of Tamil and its culture. He was conducting a School in Chintadripet, where he taught and trained a number of scholars in Tamil, who all admire and revere him for his scholarship and deep erudition. Very early in life, he began to contribute articles to "Kala Nilayam" a magazine which was the spearhead of Tamil renaissance. His articles were at once scholarly and conceived on lines of literary criticism. The author of many books on a variety of subjects, he may well be considered ono of the makers of the modern Tamil prose.

The Annamalai University secured his services again in the year 1958, and he has been responsbile for strengthening the Department and extending its activities and for introducing Post-Graduate studies in Linguistics. In 1957–58 he was elected President of the Indian Linguistic Society. The articles contained in this Volume are interesting and instructive and show his deep scholarship in many fields; they will repay study.

May Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran be spared for many more years by the Grace of Lord Nataraja, to continue his shining service to Tamil and our Motherland.

Annamalainagar,
15-12-'60.

T. M. Narayanaswamy Pillai

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All India Oriental Conference

ANNAMALAINAGAR SESSION

December 26, 27 and 28, 1955

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Tamil Section

PRESIDENT AND FRIENDS,

Inspired by your presence, my mind goes back to those ancient days and of Rishis of whom the Puranas sing, when Chidambaram was, according to them, the heart of the Universe wherein dances the Lord. Today, Chidambaram as Annamalainagar is the centre of Tamilnad because of this University founded for the study, development and popularisation of all that is best in the Tamil country. Our merchants of ancient time carried our culture to the distant countries of the world and were responsible for many religious and cultural institutions. True to this tradition, the Merchant Prince, Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Tamil Nad founded this cultural centre, the Annamalai University whose traditions are kept alive by his son Rajah Sir Muthiah Chettiar and the present Vice-Chancellor Sri T. M. Narayanaswamy Pillai. That unique Tamilian spirit of loving hospitality is the very atmosphere of this University, an atmosphere whose presence you must all have felt and enjoyed.

I am glad that a Tamil section has been organised this year and I must express the gratitude of all the Tamilians, however, unworthy I may be as their mouthpiece. It was your love for Tamil, more than my individual merit that was responsible for choosing me to occupy the privileged position of President of this section, and this brings to my mind the sad thought that most of the stars of the first magnitude on the horizon of Tamil studies had set. May we pay our humble homage in loving remembrance to those departed souls—Dr. Swaminatha Iyer, Swami Vipulananda, Vellakkal Subramaniya Mudaliar, K. Subramaniya

Pillai, Marai Malai Adikal, Pandithamani, T. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar, and Kavimani Desikavinayagam Pillai, with whom all I had the good fortune to come into intimate contact as a lover of Tamil. This thought makes us realise our responsibility, in keeping up their torch of learning ever burning bright, till we hand it over to the next generation in this great race between ever fleeting time and the tardy human achievement.

May I in all humility suggest that this Tamil Section may be a permanent feature of the subsequent sessions of our Oriental Conference. Tamil has two aspects, the one as a Modern Language and the other as a Classical Language. Our revered and beloved Minister for Education at the centre, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, inaugurating the Conference of Letters on 15-3-1951 which met for the establishment of the Academy of Letters or the Sahitya Akademi as it is now called, emphasised this truth which is very often either neglected or forgotten. "The fourteen languages recognised by the constitution", he then said, "include Sanskrit and Tamil. Sanskrit is of course in a class by itself and is rightly recognised as one of the most developed of classical languages. Tamil also has a rich and ancient literature and its poetry has deservedly to be translated into foreign languages. We must, however, remember that Tamil is really a *classical language* and most of the achievements of Tamil, which entitle it to recognition, belong to a past age." My appeal is only to give effect to this recognition and if this Oriental Conference of Scholars is not going to give this recognition, who else would?

This is not to minimise the importance of Tamil as a modern language—its present vitality and its future possibility. A language with journals older than the present century, and with circulation reaching very often a hundred thousand, a language which has produced the modern miracle in the East of an Encyclopaedia of modern knowledge in Tamil, a language which had given birth to Bharathi, the poet of the national awakening, Kavimani, the poet of the child and the common man, Thiru. V.K. the great orator and the father of Modern Prose, T.K.C. the creator of literary appreciation, Kalki, the humourist and the historical novelist, Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar, the great exponent of political and administrative thoughts in Tamil, not to speak of his literary and scientific expositions, Putumai-p-pittan, the short story writer, and E. T. Rajeswari, the exponent of

popular science can justify its claim as one of the best languages of the East, especially when it is seen that I have restricted my attention to only those who are, unfortunately for us, not with us anymore, and that the race of writers is multiplying in number and power, fame and prestige. These cannot escape the notice of the world.

But in an Oriental Conference, it is the aspect of our classical learning that has to be kept alive. First is therefore the task of rescuing the ancient classics. Damodaram Pillai and Swaminatha Iyer can never be forgotten for their bequethal to posterity of their valuable editions of Tolkappiyam and Sangam and other works. The three Universities of the South, the Madras, the Annamalai and the Travancore, the two great public libraries the Madras Oriental and the Tanjore Saraswathi Mahal and the great religious mutts of Tamil land, the Dharmapuram, Tiruppanandal and Thiruvavaduturai are all now issuing editions of old Tamil Works. The old manuscripts used by Dr. Swaminatha Iyer and others are fortunately still available. It is very unfortunate that provision had not been made for taking mechanical copies, which alone will avoid the personal equation in copying and will make copies available to the students of Colleges and other Scholars without much cost, copies which can be read conveniently in a magnified form, with the help of illuminated readers. The last word is yet to be said about the editions of the old texts. The scientific method of editing the old manuscripts evolved by the editors of the West and the East has to be followed and for an understanding of this method and practice, the mechanical copies must become available to all the students. Perhaps, the reading and editing of old texts from manuscripts, along with the study of paleography for reading and editing the inscriptions, may be made one of the special or optional subjects in a Tamil Honours course. A well framed syllabus providing for practical work will help the students to bring out scientifically prepared editions of the old texts, commentaries and inscriptions. There are manuscripts in Tamil of probably the 12th century in Tibet. In the libraries of the West, there are various commentaries on Tolkappiyam and other grammatical works in Tamil which unfortunately have not till now been taken for publication by the manuscript libraries that have a scheme of publication. There is also enough of lexicon matter which if published will help the preparation of a historical dictionary.

The Tamil lexicon prepared by the Madras University is an important land mark and it was not and could not have been, drawn on historical principles. It had not even attempted to arrange the meanings listed therein, roughly at least, according to the relative age of the various works, from which it quotes. The Government of India is sponsoring the preparation and publication of a Sanskrit dictionary on historical principles, and this has been made possible by the various dictionaries including the Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-European which have been published from time to time. A historical dictionary of Tamil language is equally necessary. It is learnt that Prof. Burrow of England and Prof. Emenau of America are going to work on an etymological dictionary of the Dravidian Languages. The study of the unrecorded Dravidian languages—the so-called uncultured dialects is very important from this point of view. Prof. Burrow's study of the Parji language and Prof. Emenau's study of the Kōṭa text and the Kolami language are master-pieces in this line. In his work on the Kolami, Prof. Emenau has given us an idea of the projected etymological dictionary of the Dravidian languages. It is very unfortunate that whilst foreigners are evincing such great interest in these languages and mastering them, the native-born speakers of Dravidian Languages do not make a serious study of its sister languages with the inevitable result, that the study of the Comparative Dravidian remains stagnant where Dr. Caldwell left it nearly a century back, except for a few attempts here and there, inside and outside India. The Southern Universities along with the University of Ceylon and the University of Malaya, can easily co-operate in this project of a comparative study. Speaking from the point of view of a Tamilian, except in the commercial circles, linguists are not very many. The cheap but highly strained emotional controversy about the linguistic problem in the South, seems to cloud the issue and kindle an unwanted and unwarranted prejudice against the study of other languages.

The unwritten languages have also to be studied for an understanding of the various problems of Tamil. In a paper to be read before this session on the Conjugation of the Tamil Verbs, attempting to explain forms like ceṉṟāṉ the contributor suggests that the root here must have been originally ceṉ which became cel due to the denasalisation of the ending—a process which is amply proved by eṉ becoming eḷ, āṉ becoming āl and iṉ becoming il' But this must have taken place long before the age of

Tolkappiyam and the Sangam works which use the forms like celavu. A study of the Kolami language proves the existence of this nasal ending; for the root there is even today, ceṉ. Once again this contributor, explaining the infinitive in Tamil finds some forms like niṟka and niṟpa which cannot be explained away as a combination of the root and the suffix "a", if one were to take the root as nil according to the established Tamil usage. The contributor refers to the Malayalam usage, where nilkku is taken as the root. The unwritten dialects throw a food of light. In the Parji language nilp is the root and in its northern dialect this takes the form nilk, thus completely explaining, the two forms niṟka and niṟpa as forms existing in two different dialects. Dr. Caldwell traces the original meaning of suffixes like the negative il, al etc., on the assumption, that the forms in Tamil are the original or primitive forms. Are they the real primeval forms ?—that is the question. In the unwritten languages, we find the negative particle il as kil and cil. in Kolami and Sid in Kui. At a particular period in the histony of Tamil Language, the initial 'c' was lost, which gives therefore the Tamil form il for kil and cil. This explains the futility of building any theory on the forms found in the cultured languages alone, in the absence of a detailed and comparative study of the unwritten languages and dialects.

The history of Tamil Language can be written only with the help of such studies. An index of words and their various forms must be prepared as found in the classics and inscriptions. A comparative study of the dated documents may throw light on the forms found in undated documents. The Government of India has sanctioned research scholarships for a study of the Tamil Inscriptions upto the beginning of the reign of Kulothunga and for a study of the index of Tolkappiyam. The study of the history of the language from the very beginning, through a series of specialised studies of the different periods has been attempted, in the study of the Tamil Inscriptions of seventh and eighth century and of the early Kanarese and Malayalam Inscriptions by the students of London School of Asian and African studies and the Deccan College of Poona; and these may be continued by the Tamil students for the subsequent centuries. The study of the Tolkappiyam fortunately reveals the existence of the grammatical study in Tamil, prior to Tolkappiyar, thanks to his systematic mention of all those rules of grammar and technical terms of the ancient times, specifically as belonging to an age anterior to him.

One of the papers submitted to this section gives us a bird's eye view of the pre-Tolkappiyan study of words. It is the detailed study of the words in ancient texts and inscriptions that will throw a flood of light on the development of Tamil. In the absence of these, all attempts at fixing the age of the texts merely on the assumption of certain forms of words may not amount to anything more than a biassed-guess. The tendency in Tamil for the final nasal ṉ to be denasalised into l as pointed above, is older than Tolkappiyam. If that were so, how is one to explain the denasalisation of a final ṉ used by Tolkappiyar himself? Was there once again a period, subsequent to the Sangam age, when this tendency cropped up afresh? Or it may be that the denasalisation was restricted to certain dialects which later on spread into all the other dialects. niṟpa and niṟka have been shown to be old dialectic variations. If this was so, it is necessary to study the dialects, if possible of the age of the Sangam and other works. Perhaps this line of study alone will explain the coming into use, all of a sudden, of forms having the present tense sign kir and kiṉṟu. In the absence of the reliable explanation of trends and changes, any attempt at fixing the age of the undated documents cannot be considered scientific. In a consideration of these varied forms, the question of the influence of the copyists cannot be altogether neglected. A recent edition of naṟṟiṇai—a Sangam Classic, for the purpose of convenient reading has separated the words, but in so doing has given us the ending of many words in l, where one should have an ending in ṉ. If modern scholarship can be capable of this wonder, what may not we expect from the copyists of middle ages, who might not have been scholars themselves.

The pronunciation problem of ancient and medieval Tamil remains still unsolved. Modern Tamil differentiates, in its pronunciation, between the voiceless and voiced stops, though this cannot be suspected from its writings. Is this a new innovation in the language? If so when did it start? These are the problems which face us. The writings can never give us any clue. The transliteration of Tamil words in foreign languages, which differentiate in their writings the voiced and voiceless stops, may help us in this line of studies. One of the papers submitted to this section studies these problems with the help of the inscriptions of the Pallava and Chola period, where Tamil words are found transliterated in Sanskrit verses. The contribu-

tor points out that in that period of her study, the law of convertibility of surds and sonants, was not in force and the letters were pronounced as they were written. One has to study in this way, period after period, for arriving at a general conclusion.

The present time seems to be auspicious. The Government of India are planning a linguistic survey and the Tamilians must now prepare themselves for a study, not only of the cultured languages but also of the unrecorded dialects, of which there are many in our own midst and amongst the aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiri and other mountains. The Linguistic School run by the Deccan College, Poona, thanks to Dr. Katre getting the support of the Rockefeller Foundation for running the project in its initial stages, runs a summer and a winter school every year and trains during the rest of the period stipendiary fellows in linguistic research. It is unfortunate that the speakers of the Dravidian Languages including Tamil, have not taken as much advantage as a few others. It is likely that the Summer and Winter schools may be held in the Tamil country when a sufficient number of students of Tamil may get themselves trained for the task ahead of them. The Annamalai University, thanks to whose hospitality, we are assembled here, has a Chair for Dravidian linguistics and it has invited the School of Linguistics for holding its session within its own precincts. There are brighter days thus dawning, for a study of the history of the Tamil language and its dialects.

In this study, the recent developments of what is called Glottochronology in America, may be of great help. This takes up 215 basic ideas denoted by words which do not usually change, except very slowly, in any language and studies how much of these common words are found still in current use, after a period of time in the same language or in the various but connected dialects branching off from that language. The percentage of survival seems to offer a clue for our fixing the starting point. This theory may be verified with reference to Sangam works and the works of subsequent periods; and, if correct, may help us to fix the respective ages of the various works, on the basis of the statistical formula worked out in detail. This may also help us to fix roughly the time, when the various Dravidian languages separated from each other or from the proto-Dravidian.

In this preparation of the history of the Tamil language, Inscriptions whose dates have been fixed will be of great help. It is therefore very unfortunate that even the inscriptions so far copied by the Government department had not been made available in print. The centralisation of the Epigraphical Department gives no scope for the erstwhile healthy rivalry among the States in collecting and printing the epigraphical records. It is for serious consideration whether the linguistic States may not take over the copying and publication of the Inscriptions in their respective languages and within their jurisdiction.

The history of Tamil country is connected with the study of the Inscriptions and the literary evidence. This important and interesting study is still in its initial stage. A recent study of Kulothungan Piḷḷaittamiḻ brings to light, the fact that the reign of Vikramachola was not such a peaceful one as is often represented. The victories of the Chola over the southern and northern kings is often referred to in this work. His blood relation with his successor is another problem. A study of our literature raises problems like this, which require for their solution the help of inscriptions. Therefore the non-publication of the available inscriptions assumes a form of dis-service to the necessary pursuit of knowledge.

There is also the history of Tamil literature yet to be written. There is no difficulty in our appreciation of our Classics without reference to their age. There is a paper to be read before us on Attichudi—or Avvaiyar's book of alphabets. There is another bringing out the greatness of Kamban. There is a third which studies the religion of the author of Cilappadikāram as revealed in the earliest epic of Tamilians. This shows that the Tamil literature is being studied from all points of view and at different levels without any reference to the difficulties of fixing their age. Every work of art has an individuality of its own, but the whole literature as pointed out by T. S. Elliot forms an organic whole, with reference to which every literary work finds in the National Mind its proper place and equilibrium. It is this perspective that gets blurred in the absence of a history of Tamil literature. The main difficulty lies in the problem of fixing the age of the various works. Many of the so-called histories of Tamil literature are getting themselves lost in these intricacies. No attempt has been made for

tracing the history of literary tendencies, conventions, forms and modes and of the rhythm. If one starts from the beginning, in the mysterious past, this difficulty is unavoidable. May I therefore humbly suggest that we do reverse the process and start writing or studying the history backwards from modern times, whose contributions are unfortunately very much neglected, in our Modern Studies and College courses. We can then trace every modern trend to the old poets and scholars, century after century, conveniently making the clock of time run backwards. One's familiarity with modern literature will help one to see the historical development more clearly than otherwise. There may be the danger of seeing things modern in things ancient everywhere; but such pitfalls beset the way of every research. But if one can guard against that, this is always the better method of studying history—proceeding from the known to the unknown. This may help us to fix the relative age of historical trends and works from this point of view. This is nothing new. This is what a great educationist, a great headmaster of a famous English School, Mr. Sanderson had suggested for a study of history itself. In spite of our pre-occupation with the ancient classics, the course suggested will help us to keep a living contact with the literature of the people and its influence on our classics all through its history reminding us forcibly that our country had not been non-existent after the age of the classics, and that our people always continued to sing and recite, to compose and enjoy poetry all through their existence. This seems to be the more democratic course also. The ancient classics, through this slow and steady process, get themselves fixed in the general scheme of Tamil literature in its historical march. When their influence is traced this way, their greatness and significance leap up before our mind's eye as a divine presence always with us. Perhaps, in the future courses of our post-graduate study, we must lay the emphasis, for these reasons, on the specialisation of these later periods of Tamil literature.

The inter-relation of Tamil and other languages and other cultures raises very significant and surprising problems. Malayalam in its northern parts, conducts shadow-plays where the wire-pullers behind the screen recite Kambaramayanam verses. Provision had been made in ancient times, for recitation of Kambaramayanam in Malabar. Tulsidas who is considered to have come on a religious pilgrimage to Rameswaram, in the

Tamil country, writes in his Ramacaritmanas, of Rama and Sita meeting and falling in love with each other before the Svayamvaram—a version which is found only in Kamban, true to the Tamilian tradition of love—a version which must have appealed to Tulsidas during his southern pilgrimage. The influence of Ramanuja and the Tamil Bhakti cult on the religious Reformers of the North, though vaguely guessed, has yet to be studied in all its details. The stories of the Saiva Saints of Tamil Nad have travelled to the Telugu and Kannada countries not to speak of their Sanskrit versions. Tamil works have been copied in Malayalam, Telugu and other scripts and a detailed study of such works will explain the spread of Tamilian influence and the reason therefor. Another method of studying this influence is through the Tamil inscriptions outside the Tamil country.

This again raises the philisophical contributions of the Tamil land. Saiva Siddhanta texts and commentaries the Srivaisnavite commentaries and sutras are in Tamil and without an acquaintance with these, one cannot pretend to have a first-hand knowledge of these schools of thought. The importance of Tēvaram in the development of Temple cult is brought out in one of the papers to be read here, whereas another contribution emphasises the significance of the hymns and philosophical works in Tamil of the Chola period. This influence cannot be easily exaggerated. Dingnāga, the Buddhist Philosopher was a resident of Kanchi. The founder of Zen Buddhism was a prince of Kanchi. Ramanuja also resided there, though born at Sriperumputūr near Madras. Sankara was a native of the Cera country then a part of the Tamil land. Ramanuja admittedly traces his thoughts to the Tamil songs of Alwars. Sankara, if Saundaryalahari is his work, knows the Tamil compositions of Gnānasambanda. This line of thought will lead us to seek in the great works of these philosophers a Tamilian influence or at least a Tamilian atmosphere. This opens up a new field for research.

In this connection, it may be advisable, for opening specialised courses in philosophy and religion for the Tamil Vidwan and Tamil Post-graduate students. A systematic training may inspire them to pursue further research therein. As in Sanskrit the Tamil course also may lead to specialisation in

Grammar, literature, literary criticism, comparative and historical philology, philosophy, religion and history.

The Tamilian contact with the West—with Greece and Rome was a definite fact, though all the details are not yet worked out. The Arikkamedu excavations have been very fruitful and we have to make more excavations of this type. More than these excavations, the surveys of marine archaeology to be made like those carried out by Philippa Diole, may bring to light many ship wrecks and articles of trade which may describe this contact in more eloquent terms. In his book "4,000 years under the Sea", Diole says, "The Arretani Pottery found near Pondicherry, the Roman coins dug up on Indian soil, the Temples of Augustas at Mysore, all these things bear witness to the long continuance of that maritime route on which the Arabs had laid their hands..............We find proof of this liaison in a people living at the further end of the great route, in the parts of Southern India, where they served as a link between the East and Far East. They were a half-way house people. Perhaps in pre-historic times they had watched ships coming from the West and had loaded them for the return journey with what their own ships had brought from China and Ceylon. These Tamils, who perhaps preserve in their traditions, as a memory, of what life once was like, in the Mediterranean, were Dravidian pre-Aryans. They have a very old literature of no little importance. This Tamil civilisation was quite as old as possible to estimate the extent of the debt owed by each to other; there is little doubt, but that the Tamils would prove to be by far the bigger creditors. One of their kings, King Pandya had sent an embassy to Augustus. They had known at one and the same time the civilisation of the West and the civilisation of China—thanks to their familiarity with sea. Like the Cretons the Tamils were great divers—the foremost pearl divers in the world." After referring to their breathing technique which also plays an important part in their religious mystical practices, he concludes "The junks which in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries carrying the trade between China, India and the Persian gulf contained group of Tamil divers, whose duty it was, to inspect the hulls and carry out repairs by daubing holes and cracks with a composition made of sesame and wax". This outline has to be filled up by a detailed research. The foreign words found in Tamil and the Tamil words found in foreign languages are worthy of study from this point of view.

The contact with the East which developed into a cultural empire of a Greater India, had been studied with the help of Inscriptions of the Pallava and Cola period. There are Tamil inscriptions in those distant places. The Bengali writers who studied the civilisation of the Eastern Archipelago emphasised the contribution of their own country and they claimed that the National swing festival of Siam was only their own Swing festival connected with the worship of Krishna. I pointed out in the Tamil Festival celebrated at Madras, what had been, till then, overlooked in all these discussions—the name 'Tiruppavai and Tiruvembavai' the name of the festival which beyond all doubts is based on the title of two famous works of Tamil land—Tiruppavai of Āṇḍāḷ and Tiruvempavai of Maṇikkavācakar. This clearly proves the importance of these two works which are coming back to attain their own importance in the modern world, thanks to the attempts of Sri Sankaracharya of Kumbakonam. Rev. Thaniyanayakam has brought to our notice that the songs "āṭiyum" and "pācam" from Tiruvempāvai were recited as LEREMBA mantras during Coronation and other festivals in Siam. It is not clear what venses were recited from Tiruppavai. All this opens up another line of research.

There is one other important problem that of the inter-relation of Sanskirt and Tamil which may be compared to the confluence of our sacred rivers, the Ganges and the Jamna; meeting together they flow to the sea as one great river. In the development of culture, it is a sign of death, if one does not respond to the environment. Response to this stimulus is a sign of life. Life is a process of give and take. But borrowing or adaption is often looked upon by the Chauvinist as a sign of inferiority. This outlook is an expression of the inferiority complex. Culture is a happy commingle of contributions coming from all sides. In the inter-relation of Tamil and Sanskrit, it is often assumed that it was always an one-way traffic. When it is realised that Sanskrit was the lingua franca of India, and that Tamilians like Sankara and Ramanuja contributed their best to this common heritage, it becomes clear how futile it is to speak of a borrowing from Sanskrit as distinguished from a borrowing from specified author. Borrowing from Sanskrit is as meaningful or meaningless as Tamil borrowing from Tamil. I had already referred to the problem of defining the Tamilian atmosphere in the works of those Sanskrit writers hailing from the South. There is again the riddle of Tolkāp-

piyam. It has pregnant suggestions about Dhvani—iraicci—long before the Dhavani School had its rise. In a paper to be read before the Classic Sanskrit Section discussing the Age of Kulasekara, it is said as printed in the Summaries of papers: "It is impossible to be laid that by 800 A.D. a South Indian Commentator could directly refer to that Dhvani doctrine". But does not Tholkappiyam show that this position is not so clear as to be stated in such a dogmatic way? The relationship between Kashmir Saivaism on the one hand and Saiva Siddhanta and Tirumantram of Tirumūlar on the other and the relationship between the Tamils' iraicci and the Kashmirean Dhvani—how and why these developed in the distant North and South are as interesting and significant as the Kashmir problem in the modern international world.

The Rasās mentioned iu Tolkappiyam do not all agree with those mentioned in Bharatha. In the place of Sringaara we have uvakai or joy. Again the lexicon Tivākaram of the Pallava age gives a list of the figures of speech which is more recent than Bharatha's but more ancient than that of Bhāmaha or Dandin... marking and revealing a necessary stage in the development of the Alankāra Sāstra. Daṇḍin was a great force in the Tamil country. He refers in his Avanti Sundari Katha to a Tamil architect who had written S'uudraka carita in Tamil. This gives a valuable clue to the nature of Tamil literature of 7th century. He refers to the Sangatha which is often interpreted as a reference to Dravida Sangatha; probably Sangam anthology and Andhadis were in the mind of Daṇḍin. He speaks of Kriyaavidhi and Kriya seems to refer to Kaavya. My friend Dr. Raghavan had pointed out in one of his interesting papers that Kriya Kalpa was the old name of Poetics as found in Vatsyāyana Kāma Sūtra and Lalita Vistāra. Tolkappiyar and ancient Tamils called their literary composition ceyyuḷ—a word which reminds us of the word Kriya—indeed a rare usage in Sanskrit. There is again the question of the relationship of the Tamil music with the South Indian music and the Tamil dance with Bharata Nāṭya. There are again references to Sanskrit works in the Tamil commentaries to Kātantra, Kāma Sūtra, Kamantaka, Patanjali etc. There are also references to Prakrit works, the Kanarese works like Gunagankiyam unfortunately not available at present. Schools of Philosophy are summarised in a few works in Tamil

The Sivagnanabōdam in Tamil—the 12 sutras—is often considered to be a translation into Tamil; but a comparative study convinces many that the Tamil work was the original one. The Tamil sutras are complete in themselves where-as in Sanskrit, the whole idea is expressed in 11½ slokas whilst the last line states "so learn the well defined idea of Saiva Siddhanta in Sivagnanabōda" Cēkkiḻar's Periyapurāṇam has been translated as Upamanya Bhakta Vilasam. This latter is often claimed as an original work and if this is true Cēkkiḻar's creative genius has to shrink into insignificance. But in one of my studies 'Anpu muṭi'—the study on Eripatta Nayanar, I pointed out how the Sanskrit work makes blunders which can be explained only on the basis that it is a translation, especially where Cēkkiḻār is crystal clear to a student of Tamil and history. Kaivalya navanītam, the most popular book on Vedanta in Tamil, popular even in Malayalam and Telugu countries, has been recently attempted to be shown as a translation of the work of that name by Sankuka. A detailed study will show that Sankuka was but a translator. Guhesan is the word used in Tamil for referring to the Absolute as an immanent principle. Guhesan connotes thanks to its yoga Sakti the lord of the cave of the heart—the immanent principle which is alone germane to the context. Sankuka translates the word as "viḷḷiisa" in the impression that the denotation Subramanya is what is important here. Examples could be multiplied. A detailed study on the lines has yet to be made about these books which look so much alike in Sanskrit and Tamil. Apart from these there are admitted translations—translations of Tirukkuraḷ and Tiruppavai, etc., in Sanskrit and translations of Suta Samhita and Kūrmapurana, etc., in Tamil; whilst there are other books adopting the ideas without attempting at a translation.

There are various other interesting problems, significant from the point of Indian Culture, as yet to be solved by Tamil Scholars. The great handicap here, is that the student has not any opportunity of knowing, what had already been done in the field. There is often unnecessary duplication. The Universities and research bodies should co-operate in drawing out a common programme of work in which they can pursue the studies in their respective specialised fields.

A Bibliography with a summary of the contributions is absolutely necessary. No individual can undertake this stupendous

task. It requires any amount of travel for collecting materials, a knowledge of Western and Indian languages, the co-operation of Scholars in other lands and in other languages and above all time and money, which can all be expected only from University or at Government level.

So much to do and so little done—that is the piercing cry of our heart. A translation of all the classics may throw them open to the world and they may bring the co-operation of foreign scholars. As the generation of Tamil Scholars strong in English is fast disappearing, this has to be undertaken now or never.

But there is one great consolation for the student. An unexplored part of the intellectual world lies here welcoming him with a tempting offer of success and fame. May this temptation appeal to the rising generation!

2. A Plea for a History of Tamil Thought[1]

Indian thought is a beautiful and variegated mosaic in the formation of which various independent patterns have come to commingle harmoniously. It is not a dead monotone but a living symphony. The philosophical conception of an Indian thought is the metaphysical background for the political idea of an Indian Federation. Indian Federation is no longer a dream. Its basis is the conception of a linguistic province. Linguistic provinces are demanded in the hope these may represent real cultural units and the hope is justified in the view that language is the form of thought, its body and habitat. To speak of the South Indian culture is not to indulge in empty words. Nor is this succumbing to the threatening fissiparous tendency of modern Indian power politics. Real culture, apart from the outward pomposity of arrogant barbarism, is something universal and its varieties are but so many views of the philosophical landscape obtained, within the framework of space and time, from every coign of vantage, by the ever progressive humanity on its victorious march in quest of the Unknown. Contemporary books on the English thought and American thought are highly valued and the conception of Western thought is enriched rather than dissolved by such studies. Therefore, one is justified in speaking of a Tamil thought as well.

Indian thought is a beautiful tree, a miracle of the spiritual science, growing out of many seeds synthesised together, with many a grafted branch, wherein the great thinkers have, by their bold mental experiments, inspired the development of different forms and hues, in the leaves that sprout, and the flowers that bloom, making the divine tree of life and knowledge grow heavenwards, higher and higher, spread sidewards, wider and wider, and send its roots downwards deeper and deeper to offer shade and shelter, feast and festivity to all denizens of this universe. Sanskrit thought is but another name for Indian thought and ought not to be opposed to Tamil thought, Telugu thought or Bengali thought. When Sanskrit ceased to be a spoken language, it became by its very death, the lingua franca, the Devabhasa

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of India, the language of her universities, the languages which foreigners like Hieun Tsang and Sir William Jones studied, whenever they wanted to know the inner thought of the Indian mind. The ideas given expression to in Sanskrit are as varied as life and the world. To speak of any Indian language, borrowing from Sanskrit in general as distinct from borrowing from specific authors, or any idea, being contrary to the Sanskrit idea, is as meaningless as to speak of Tamil language borrowing from Tamil language. The Tamils have contributed to the growth of that common culture expressed in Sanskrit as much as speakers of any other Indian language. Sanskrit occupies the same position that Latin did in the Middle ages. Latin thought was not the Roman thought, much less an Italian thought; it was the European thought, bringing within its compass the contribution of Englishmen like Bede, of Italians like Thomas Aquinas, of Germans like Leibniz and of Frenchmen like Gregory of Tours. Similarly Sankara and Ramnuja were Tamilians, but they wrote in Sanskrit addressing the whole world of learning of their days.

Sanskrit thought is sometimes identified with the Aryan thought. The word 'Aryan' has been proved to have no racial significane; at best, it can refer only to a linguistic distinction. The Aryan myth, however, is the favourite creed of Hitler and men of his ilk. The very root of political and social life is attempted to be poisoned by this racial prejudice. But Sanskrit thought can be Aryan only in the sense that Sanskrit belongs to the family as Indo-Aryan language, even as Pidgin English belongs to the family of Teutonic languages. If the mother tongue of the writers in Sanskrit is considered, Sanskrit is equally entitled to be called Tamil thought, Telugu thought, Bengali thought and so for, if it is so desired, Aryan thought, Iranian thought, Mongolion thought, Scythian thought, Dravidian thought and Adi Dravidian thought. The Valluvars, one of the untouchable groups of Tamil land, the hereditary astrologers of South India, preserve their ancient lore in the Sanskrit tongue. Ancient works on architecture have been preserved in Sanskrit from times immemorial by the Viswa Brahmins, whilst the ordinary Brahmins were always denied even a glimpse of these pages.

The history of Indian thought is a very interesting study and has been attempted with real success by men of such great eminence as Sri S. Radhakrishnan. The present essay pleads for a study of that history from a new point of view. The biologist,

in studying the development of an embryo from the fertilised cell, traces the growth of the various organs and organic systems from particular cell divisions and layers which he dyes with different colours to facilitate unmistakable identification. A historian of Indian thought should, on analogous lines, trace the development of the varying liguistic cultures as separate but interacting organs, as it were, of the great living organism of Indian thought. The linguistic provinces are so many cultural units, each distinct but not different, all in varying degrees of individuality and with languages of their own. The common language shapes the common mind of the unit. It is therefore all the more interesting to trace the inter-relation and interaction of these variegated skeins of cultural hues within the unified artistic pattern of Indian thought.

Of the Indian languages, the North Indian Vernaculars are the wholesale corruptions of and progressive deviations from the Sanskrit tongue. Among the Dravidian vernaculars all the cultural languages other than Tamil have been getting themselves merged more and more in the Sanskrit language itself. It is Tamil which has resisted this course, from the very beginning of its contact to the present day. Whilst, therefore, the other units have become one with the circulatory and digestive system of the Sanskrit organism, Tamil unit retains its individuality and, to continue the comparison, whilst the North Indian culture has developed into the respiratory and digestive organs, the South Indian culture has developed into its cerebrum controlling all the voluntary and involuntary systems of the great living organism of Indian thought. Here, in Tamil, therefore, is a rich mine for the analytic historian of Indian thought to work with great profit.

For this purpose, the history of South Indian thought must be first written as a basis for studying its interaction with other Indian partials and its organic relationship with the larger whole of the Indian thought. To speak of this as Indian Tamil thought is much more illuminative than to talk of it as a Dravidian thought, which will only send us hunting after the will-o-the wisp of racial purity in the marshy expanse of hatred and ignorance. The term Tamil thought may be justified also on the ground that the main source of our information is to be Tamil, though; whatever individuality is found in the other Dravidian languages will also have to be laid under service.

But books in Tamil alone, though in legions, despite the destruction by natural and other causes, do not cover the whole extent of Tamil thought, nor exhaust the contribution of Southern India. After Sanskrit became the lingua franca of the educated India, the intellectual streams flowed into the cultural reservoir of Sanskrit. The use of Tamil became restricted to secular literature and mystic poetry, to popular expositions of philosophy and poetic epigrams of ethics. These are so many beacons guiding our way in the wide unknown sea of Tamil thought, and the commentaries in Tamil give a glimpse of the wonderful working of the human mind in Tamil land. It is the works in Sanskrit and Prakrit from the pen of the inhabitants of the Tamil country that really reveal the highest flights of their cold intelligence and their fiery imagination. Light should be secured from all possible sources and concentrated on the development of Tamil thought.

The Tamils are believed by many to have moved to the South from Indus Valley. The Indus Valley civilisation may be the starting point of this history. The conceptions of Paśupati the Divine Mother, and the Sacred Bull have their beginning there. Rev. Father Heras interprets the inscriptions at Mohenjadaro and Harappa as describing the one God, the Fish-eyed one, the ever awake omniscient one; but these interpretations await acceptance by other scholars.

The next landmark is Tolkāppiyam, if we leave out of account the materials found in Vedic literature itself, which cannot be traced to any Indo-Iranian or Indo-European origin. Tolkāppiyam is the earliest of the Tamil works now extant, but it was written after the Tamilian contact with Sanskrit. Tolkappiyam-tradition unfortunately suffered an eclipse, as explained in the commentary on Iṟaiyanār Akapporuḷ; and when its study came to be revived during the early days of the later Imperial Colas, so many sutrams defied even the critical acumen and encyclopaedic learning of the commentators, and they continue to remain a puzzle to this day. Tolkāppiyam has to be studied from the point of view herein suggested. The names of the vowels and consonants, viz., uyir or life and mey or body, the classification of things, i.e., rational things and non-rational things or moral and non-moral are highly philosophical. The restriction of the number of the parts of speech to two viz., the noun or the subject and the verb or the predicate lays language

and syntax of logic or thought. Poruḷ Atikāram gives us, as it were, a plan for the happy life of love and victory. The conception of Vākai or victory as the successful discharge of one's duties and of Kantaḷi, the Absolute, are some of the outstanding thoughts of Tolkāppiyam.

The Sangam age with innumerable poets of all occupations and communities strikes even the casual reader as an age of universal education and high thinking. That was the golden age of Tamil culture—an age of creative imagination. We find poets and poetesses of all persuasions. Pōtiyar must mean a Buddhist; Ōlucanār a Jain. A translation of the Sangam works will place them at the disposal of all scholars. A History of the Sangam Thought has yet to be written; for, unfortunately, the chronology of the many kings and patrons of learning mentioned therein is not yet settled.

There are references in Jain works to Chandragupta Maurya. renouncing the world and moving to Sravana Beḷgoḷa in Mysore along with Badrabāhu, the great Jain Saint and South India becoming the heart of Jainism from that date onwards. Mysore was probably the Erumai nāṭu of the Sangam Age and Pulikaṭimāl of the Sangam Age, was a king of the Kanarese who had not separated from the Tamil in those far off times. Tradition has it that Kauṭalya the Minister of Chandragupta was a Tamilian and that the proverb 'Coḻiyan Kuḍimi Cumma āḍumā' refers to him; but nothing can be built on the quicksands of such tradition. The son of Asoka is remembered to have sailed to Ceylon and to have established Buddhism which thrives there even to-day. Buddhism and Jainism, thus, came to wield a very great influence in Tamil land.

The twin epics, Silappatikāram and Maṇimēkalai, one from the pen of a Jain and the other from the pen of a Buddhist, form the next mile stone. They mark an important stage in the history of Jainism and Buddhism. The defects which Tirugnānasambandar points out in Jainism and Buddhism were non-existent during this period. South Indian Jainism is sometimes accused of degrading women, but the Jain epic really deifies the chaste woman and so does the Buddhist epic, Maṇimēkalai, where a girl born of the community of public women

becomes the merciful saviour of the poor and the great teacher of the Right path.

Maṇimekalai and Silappatikāram describe the philosophical discussions carried on by the followers of various schools of thought on the day of the national festival or the Indra Viḷa in the capital city of the Cōḷas. The Paṭṭi maṇḍapam or the Hall of learned discussion or rather the Parliament of religions had become a national institution. There was a sense of humour along with a sincere spirit of reverential toleration and an unquenchable thirst for true knowledge. The age of Maṇimēkalai was therefore an age of intense creative thinking in the Tamil land. The capitals of the Tamil kings became, as it were, so many universities and Conjeevaram grew into greater and greater prominence as a South Indian University. Maṇimēkalai gives us a picture of the conflicting philosophies and code of ilfe, popular among the people of those times. Maṇimēkalai for the first time in the history of Indian thought gives us, in one of its chapters, a hand book of Indian philosophies. The form it has given to such expositions also has come to stay. Maṇimēkalai the heroine, in her search after truth holds a series of debates with the philosophers of the varying schools of thought and this scheme of the poem gives an opportunity for the author to give us a description of the contemporary philosophies. It is true that such philosophical dicussions are alluded to in Jain and Buddhistic works of old but they are not as systematic as here. Maṇimēkalai's scheme may be looked upon as a further development of such allusions. Kuṇḍalakēsi and Nilakēsi which along with the twin epics, and Cintamaṇi form the five great epics of the Tamil land, work out this scheme adumberated in Maṇimēkalai with all elaboration and imagery worthy of an epic. These describe the 'dig-vijaya' of a Buddhistic nun Kuṇḍalakēsi and a Jain Nīlakēsi. The discussions are more detailed and more elaborate. From these imaginary dig-vijayas grew the description of the historical dig-vijayas of the Acaryas. That the Tamilians should have looked upon these as poetic epics reveals the peculiar bent of the Tamilian mind. These may be taken to belong to the Pallava period. That this kind of literature had wide spread popularity is clearly brought out by the following remarks in the ancient commentary on a work on Tamil prosody. "Yappurunkala Virutti" "tarukkamāvaṉa. ēkāntavātamum anēkānta vātamum ām avai kuṇḍalam, nīlam, piṅkalam, añcaṉam, tatva taricanam.

kālakēci mutaliya ceyyuṭkaḷuḷḷum cāṅkiyam mutaliya taricaṉaṅ kaḷuḷḷum kāṇka."

The commentator on Nīlakēsi calls the work a Tiraṭṭu, meaning a compendium, a "samgraha" like the Sarvadarsana samgaraha. This kind of philosophical work is, therefore a Tamilian contribution. These give us a picture of the philosophical thought current in that age. Amidst all the works of philosophy written in very many languages, to Maṉimākalai and Nīlakēsi goes the credit of preserving the tenets of the old sect of ājīvakas, who according to Nīlakēsi, were very powerful and popular in and near Uraiyūr.

Badrabāhu and Kuṇḍanācārya are great names in the history of Jain thought and they were the founders, as it were, of South Indian Jainism. The Jain colonies of Arunkalanvayam and other groups in Tamil land have contributed magnificently in all spheres of thought. Digambara Jainism is peculiarly South Indian. The Jains claim that Kuṇḍanācārya was a Tamilian and his other name, Ēlēlacārya, is still preserved in the songs of the labourers of Tamil land "Ēlēla Ēla Singa". According to the Jains, Ēlelacārya was the spiritual preceptor of Tiruvaḷḷuvar. But Tirukkural of Tiruvaḷḷuvar steers clear, as Kallāḍar a Tamil poet sings, of all sectarian bias and has presented to the world a universal Bible, which has won the actual admiration and reverence of all the warring sects, past and present. It is rightly called the Tamil Veda. It gives us the conception of an ideal life. It is at once a book on ethics, .politics and married life. It is the book that has been studied from various points of view. Marking as it does another milestone in the history of Tamil thought, it demands a closer study from the point of view here suggested.

Among the giants of Buddhist thought Nāgārjuna, Dig Nāga and Dhammapāla have acquired an all-India reputation, even in their own times and these are considered to have hailed from South India. Nāgārjuna was the great exponent of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism. His disciple Ārya Dēva or Kāna Dēva is considered by many to belong to South India, though Hieun Tsang speaks of him as coming from Ceylon. Sīlabadra, under whose feet sat the famous Chinese traveller Hieun Tsang, at the Nalanda University, was a disciple of Dhammapāla. Vignānavāda Buddhism, a development of the Sarvāstivāda was

shaped by Dignāga and his disciple Dhammapāla the residents of Conjeevaram who went to adorn Nalanda. The late Mr. Kuppuswami Sastriar identified Aṟavaṇavaḍikaḷ, the Buddhist teacher of Maṇimēkalai, with Dhammapāla; the exposition of the Buddhist Logic in Maṇimekalai, is, according to the late Mr. Sastriar, almost identical with the new system of Buddhistic Logic developed by Dig Nāga and his disciples in 'Nyāya-pravēsa'. Even if the identity of names is denied, the similarity, if not identity, of thought demands an explanation. Its concurrence in Maṇimēkalai proves its popularity in Tamil land. Therefore, there can be no doubt as to its Tamil origin, though opinion is divided as to whether Dig Nāga was responsible for this new development or whether he was merely the exponent in North India of a Tamilian Buddhist thought developed before him. The importance of Maṇimēkalai for a correct understanding of the History of Indian philosophy had been brought out by Dr. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his 'Maṇimēkalai in its historical setting'.

Tēvāram, Tiruvāchakam and Nālāyiram belong to the Post Sangam or Pallava period. If Latin is the language of law, Hebrew the language of ethical religion, Sanskrit the language of Philosophy, English, French and German the languages of science, Tamil is the language of the poetry of divine experience. These poems have moved the heart of Tamil land. The Vaiṣṇava tradition has it that Rāmanuja in his Sanskrit commentaries in many places is simply translating and expounding the Tamil verses of Nammāḻvār. Soundaryalahari, if it is rightly attributed to Sankaracarya, reveals the great truth how the great Acārya became intoxicated with the mystic experience of Tiruñānasambandar's majestic and mellifluous flow of divine chanting. This raises a hope in our mind that a detailed comparative study of the works of Śankara and Tēvāram may help us to identify the Tamilian contribution as such. The various religious sects mentioned in these works exhibit the unbounded freedom of religious thought of these times, though mutual recrimination has set in. Hieun Tsang visited the Tamil land during the age of Appar; and Dharmakīrti was then preaching Buddhism at Conjeevaram. Tēvaram calls the Buddhists by the name Tērar, a corruption of the word Sthavira Vādins, a school of Buddhistic thought known to have been, according to Hieun Tsang, popular at Conjeevaram. Sēkkiḻār, in his Periyapurāṇam, describes a disputation between the Tērars and Ñānasambandar.

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the great exponent of Pūrva Mīmāmsa, is, according to one tradition, a South Indian; but we are on firmer ground about Śankara. Śankara was born in Kaladi in the Cera country and in his times, Malayalam had not developed into a separate language: for Ceramān Perumāl Nāyanār the king of the Cēra country, even after the age of Śankara, sang only in Tamil. The Pallava period witnessed a great revival in Sanskrit learning, as a result of which we find many inscriptions written in that language. Daṇḍin the great rhetorician belongs to the court of the Pallavas. Contributions of this period in Tamil are of no mean order and, as we had already pointed out, it is the literature of this period that reveals the real genius of the language and its immense possibilities.

Vaiṣṇavite philosophy developed in Tamil Land from the times of the Ālwars and continued to thrive for many centuries. Without a knowledge of Tamil, it is not possible to be a thorough master of this philosophy and thus arose the term "Ubhaya Vēdānta". The tradition runs continuously as a live stream from generation to generation from Nammāḷvar Maturakavi, Nāthamuni, Alavandār, Tirukkōṭṭiyūr Nampi, Rāmanuja, Kurattaḷvar, Bhaṭṭar, Nancīyar, Nampiḷḷai, Piḷḷailōkācāriyar and Aḷakiya Maṇavāḷa Nāyanār to Maṇavāḷa Māmunikaḷ and his disciples of the Tenkalai School. So does it continuously run through Vedanta Dēsikar and others of the Vaḍakalai School. These have written both in Tamil and in Sanskrit. The great Ramanuja known as the Tiruppavaijiyar planned to write a commentary on Nammāḷvār as one of his life's missions, but finding himself in the midst of his pressing philosophical and religious engagements, unable to see the fruition of this scheme, directed his disciple Tirukkurukaippirāṉ to discharge this sacred duty. There are very few commentaries which can stand a comparison with Nampiḷḷai's Īṭu. It is the monumental exposition of the literary and religious beauties of the exquisite poems of Nammāḷvār. Achārya Hṛdaya by Aḷakiya Maṇavāḷa Nāyanār is a masterly survey of the philosophy of Nammāḷwar's poems, ranking it higher than the Upanishads. Vedanta Dēsikar, apart from the innumerable Sanskrit works of his, had written in Tamil on the esoteric doctrines of Vaiṣṇava which tries to establish a Tontakkulan or a democracy of Vaiṣṇavite service, a kingdom of God on earth recognising no caste as bet-

ween, the worshippers of God. Ramānanda and other Vaiṣṇavite saints of North India are the followers of Ramanuja, in senses more than one. Vaiṣṇavites transliterate the Tamil songs of the Alwars in their respective mother tongues and devotionally recite them every day in Malayalam and Andhra Desa.

Coming to Saivism, we find that from the times of Nayanmars, there arose many schools of Saivite philosophy during the heyday of Cōla imperial rule. The great shrines are the outward expressions of the religion of aesthetics, not merely a 'sermon in stone' but the whole of Tamil culture, philosophy and art set forth in eloquent stones, as epochmaking expositions of visual education. These were raised by the kindly care and devotion of the Cōḻa Emperors who richly endowed these temples of learning, and encouraged the study of philosophy and other arts and sciences. The Tantra school is not limited to any one place in India, but the Āgamas are peculiarly South Indian. Many of them mention Conjeevaram and Tiruvalaṇkāḍu and, as such, one may not be wrong in concluding that they were compiled in the southern country for the regulation of the worship in the temples of this land. Sri kaṇṭa and Haradatta wrote commentaries on the Brahma Sūtra expounding the Saivite philosophy as the true import of Badarāyana's work. Appayya Dikṣita, the encyclopaedic medieval scholar has written a commentary, viz., Sivārkamaṇidīpika on the Brahmasūtra Bhāsya of Srikaṇṭacārya. Various Sivācaryas wrote commentaries on the Āgamas. The great Umāpathi Sivam wrote the commentary on the Paushkarāgama.

During the closing years of the Imperiol Cōḻa rule. Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy came to be written in Tamil. Sivagnānabōtham, though said to be a translation is really an original contribution of Meykaṇḍa Śivam of Tiruveṇṇainallūr of the 13th century. It is really an attempt at a harmonious synthesis of the conflicting philosophies of his time. His disciple was Arul Nandi of Tirutturaiyūr, the erstwhile guru of Meykaṇḍar's family and he wrote a poetic commentary on Sivanānabōtham. It is known as Sivanānasiddhiar. There is not another book on Śaiva Siddhanta philosophy famous for its poetic beauty and the second part of this work is called Siddhiyar Parapakṣam and gives an exposition and criticism of the other philosophies. There are other works from the pen of the other disciples of Mey-

kandar, Umāpathi Sivam of the 13th century is the next great thinker. His Śivaprakāśam though arranged on the lines of Sivañānasiddiyar really cuts new ground.

The disciple of Umāpathi is Maccuraivan; his disciple is great Citrrampalanadi whose works are held in high esteem in Tamil land. Through Paḷutaikaṭṭi Gnanapprakaśar, Tattvapprakāsar, Gnānaprakaśar, Chitamparanatha Gnānaprakaśar, this tradition reaches Gnanasampantar, the founder of the Dharamapuram mutt in the 16th century. There is an important fact about this mutt which ought to be emphasised, that the former was not a disciple of a Sanyasin but a gṛhasta. The Tiruvāṭuturai mutt traces its spiritual lineage from Umāpathi S'ivam through Namaccivaya Cittar of the 16th and Ambalavāṇa of the 17th century. Through this Namaccivaya Cittar, we get another spiritual lineage, through Sivaprakasa Sittar, Namaccivayamūrti and Sivaprakāsa Swami who had Vīrasaivite leanings. The mutts grew up and developed into centres of philosophy. Sivāgra Yogikaḷ of the Sūryanarayanarkoil wrote two commentaries on Sivañanabōtha in Sanskrit apart from his Tamil commentary on Sittiyar. He had written an original work in Tamil, "Sivaneṟiprakāśam". (p, 9).

We thus see a period of intense creative thinking. A host of commentators from Tamil land like Appayya Dīkshita Dharmarāja Dīkshita and Govinda Dīkshita began to elucidate the principles of Nyāya, Vēdanta, Mīmamsa, Vyākaraṇa and literature. But this essay must perforce confine itself to the intellectual stars of the first magnitude appearing on the horizon of the Tamil heavens, leaving to the future historian the preparation of a detailed plan of the heavens. Siddhantalēśa Sangraha of Appayya Dikshita hints at the growth of many a school within the Advaita system itself. The Sankalpa Nirākaraṇam of Umāpathi Sivam gives us a critique of the various schools of thought which grew and developed within the Saiva system. Maṟai Gnānasampantar of the 17th century has written another Sankalpa Nirākaraṇa on similar lines. If a reference is made to an anthology like Perum Tiraṭṭu and Kuṟam Tiraṭṭu compiled in Tamil by Tattavaraya, probably in the 15th century, one can easily realise the extent, weight and popularity of works on varied schools of philosophy.

The Vīrasaivites made their own contrtbutions. Sivaprakāsar, whose poems our youngsters even now read in the

schools and his contemporaries can never be forgotten. Vīrasaivism in Tamil is something different from what it is in other lands. It is not here an aggressive form of Saivism but an earnest attempt at the popularisation of a universal religion. Sivaprakāsa, a born Vīrasaivite, received his education at the hands of Velliyambalattambirān of the Saiva Siddhānta mutt of Dharmapuram. He translated the Vedantic works of Nijaguna yōgi. Avirota Untiyar of Santalinga, a brother-in-law of Sivaprakāśar, its commentaries by Citambara Swamigal, Nishtānubhūti by Arumuka Swamikal of Tiruppatirippuliyūr mutt, Sivagnāna Vallalar's works and Kannudaiya Vallalar's Olivilodukkam are but a few of the monumental works of this kind on universal religion from the Vīrasaiva point of view.

Advaita philosophy of Sankara became popular. Apart from the translation of the Gita and the Gnana Vāsishta and other works, there sprang up original works in Tamil like Kaivalyanavanītam. Works of Sorupānantar, Tattuvarayar and Kumāra Tēvar are of great literary merit, Here again it is noticeable that intimate connection between poetry and philosophy is found expressed in these poems of mystic experience. Here again we breathe a healthier and a more spiritual atmosphere free from the suffocating effects of caste. Orthodox people are even now fond of jeering at this Tamil school as 'Sūdra Vedanta'.

The 17th and 18th centuries were centuries of controversy. There was one school of thought which characterised salvation in negative terms as the removal of impediments. Maraignānasampandar was the exponent of this theory in the 17th century. His 'Muttinilai' was severely criticised by the founder of the Dharmapuram Mutt, the Great Gnāanasambanda in his work called 'Mutti Niccayam' which assumed a great importance in the eyes of his followers. Vellyambalattambirān wrote a smaller and a larger commentary on this 'Mutti Niccayam' exhibiting all his erudition and critical acumen, apart from his elaborate commentary on Sittiyār.

Thus in spite of the rule of tradition and the reign of text books, philosophy at no time stood standstill in Tamil land. It continued to flow within the banks of the texts, sometimes causing breaches here and there, and renewing them according to changed conditions of the times. The various conflicting

philosophies came to cluster round the Saiva Siddhānta text-books.

It was in the 18th century that Sivagnāna Yōgi of the Tiruvāḍuturai mutt wrote his monumental commentary on Sivagnānabōtham wherein he has given a connected exposition of Saiva Siddhānta, which to this day remains the orthodox point of view. Ēśumata Nirākaarṇam—a criticism of Christianity—according to the tradition, was written by Sivaprakāsar in answer to Father Robert de Nobili. It is unfortunate that except for a few quotations by Citambaram Swamikal this book is lost to us for ever.

The 19th century was a century of bitter religious rivalry and acrimonious disputations. The East came into contact with the West. Christians and Muslims pleaded for conversion into their fold. New thoughts of reform were given expression to by many a writer. The exposition of the philosophies in English was attempted. Pampan Swamigal who continued to live into the 20th century as well, had given a new interpretation of Saiva Siddhāṇta but still within the traditional frame, though very much opposed to the view of Sivagnāna Yōgi. T. V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar of this century attempts to give a new interpretation of Tamil thought in accordance with modern conditions of the world. Philosophy is unfortunately no longer popular among the reading public of Tamil land. Reformers like those of what is known as the self respect group with a bias against religion and philosophy are preaching a negative philosophy. In spite of all the modern developments, Indian thought has not become completely secularised.

There has been growing in this country from the very beginning of its history an eclectic thought. The universal standpoint was never forgotten by the Tamilians. The Sangam poet Kaṉiyan Pūṅkuṉṟanar sang of all lands of the world being our motherland and all the denizens of this universe being our brothers and sisters. Emphasising the universal aspect of real culture and the new method of education whereby man goes on educating himself from the cradle to his grave in an intellectual democracy of world federation, Tiruvaḷḷuvar rhetorically interjects "why does not a man learn till the last moment of his life, when thereby every city and every country will become his?" Sundarar, one of the Tēvāram Saints bows down before

all the worshippers of the True God removed in time and space from him. Aruḷ Nandi defines that creed as true religion which harmoniously synthesises all the conflicting views of humanity. Aruṇagiri Natar addresses his God as the Great Being residing in all the temples of the world. The conception of universal salvation was emphasised by Tayumānavar, who prays for more and more births for the service of humanity. The Samarasa sanmārga of Ramalinga is a gathering force in Tamil land ever since his Aruṭpā became popular in the last century. There has been thus at least one poet of universal religion in every century—T. V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar in the 20th century, Ramalinga in the 19th century, Cidambara Swamigal in the 18th century, Sāntalinga in the 17th century, Tayumānavar in the 16th century, Tattuvapprakāsar in the 15th century and so on. In one sense, all the poets are of this persuasion. The Sarva Samya Kīrtanas of Vedanāyakam Pillai, a Christian, and the poems of Kunam Kuti Mastān, a Muslim, amongst others, clearly prove that Christianity and Islam have become one with this universal stream of India.

Apart from this leaven which has become all-pervasive in Tamil culture, there is a specific school of eclectic thought known to the world as Siddha School. Their poems have become household words. They form a band of reformers intolerant of superstition and inequality. Their poems sound almost modern. Though this school can claim to be as old as Tirumūlar, who was anterior to Tēvāram, and Sivavākkiyar, whose style reminds us of Tirumaḻisai Āḻwār, thus proving the existence of a continuous tradition, it is also indisputable that a good portion of these Siddha songs, in spite of their claim to be from the pen of the ancient saints such as Agastiyar, is really the product of the 17th and 18th centuries. The truth is that many of these writers, in a spirit of perfect intellectual democracy, have assumed the names of the great seers of old like Tiruvaḷḷuvar. Their aspiration is to live the life eternal, here and now, and their search for the elixir of life has resulted in the development of medicine and chemistry. Their attempt at controlling the unconscious mind by breathing-exercises and other means has revealed a new psychology of the mystic experience. They look upon the puraṇams as allegories and they speak in parables and enigmas so much so their writing still remains undeciphered to a great extent. The origin and growth of this school of thought,

its interconnection with tne Tantra school, with the Rasēswara school, with the Siddhas mentioned in other parts of India, with the Siddhas like Sivaprakāsar and others mentioned above and with the mystic poetry of South India, have yet to be completely worked out and explained, but this school anticipates so much of modern thought that its elucidation will go a long way to solve many a riddle of Tamil culture.

Thus we find that Tamil thought has a peculiarity of its own all through its history of many millenniums and forms the very basis of Indian thought itself. Without the Digambara Jains, without Dignāga and Dammapāla, without Sankara and Ramanuja, Indian thought will shrink into insignificance. To understand the growth and development of the contributions of these great thinkers of the world it is necessary to study in detail the history of Tamil thought—a Silhoutte of which has been attempted to be exhibited in this paper.

3. A Bird's Eye View of Tamil Literature[1]

The Tamil language, like Janus, looks backward to the ancient world and looks forward to the modern world, with the Future still in its womb. It is both a classical language, shaping itself with logical precision and wondrous rhythm as a beautiful and befitting medium for poetry and philosophy, and a modern language shaping itself as a powerful and proper vehicle for the scientific and practical thoughts; for, unlike other classical languages, it has refused to die.

It belongs to the Dravidian family of languages—a family which is purely Indian in the sense it has no trans-Indian relationship, as contrasted with the Aryan and Muṇḍa families of languages. This family is not confined to South India; the Brahui language of the distant Baluchistan bears traces of its Dravidian origin. The Aryan languages of India have been modified by the Dravidian language of the basic substratum of the Indian race. Rev. Father Heras reads all the seals of the Mohanjadaro and Harappa in the Proto-Dravidian language and a few of his readings have yielded the verse-form peculiar to Tamil and Tiruvalluvar—the *Kuṛal* metre. Tamil is admittedly the more ancient of the cultivated languages of the Dravidian group and in one sense the most representative of this group.

There is a tradition that Literary Academies of the Tamilians flourished one after another in ancient Madurai and Kapāṭapura (which is taken to have been the Capital of Pandyas described by Valmiki), all said to have been submerged in the Southern Ocean with the continent of Lemuria. Akastiyar is the patron saint of Tamil, who according to tradition came from the North to the South and went to the Eastern Archipelago, receiving there the worship of the islands, representing thus the spirit of ever-widening culture. His book is said to be the oldest grammar in Tamil, though except for some spurious verses, it is not now available.

But all this is either speculation or mythology—certainly not in the sense of a figment of imagination. One stands on

1 Published in Indian National Congress (Sixtieth Session) 'Souvenir' Avadi, Madras. January, 1955.

solid grounds whilst relying on Tolkāppiyar whose work is also known after him. It is the oldest book, not only in Tamil but also in the Dravidian Languages, now available. Its traditions were forgotten even during the times of its commentators, who therefore groped in the dark in interpreting it, unfortunately coming many centuries after the author to revive his tradition, lost to the world in the meantime. He is said to have been a disciple of Akastiyar, though no direct reference is found in *Tolkappiyam* itself. He has been named a new by the Sanskritists as Tṛṇadūmāgni, reminding us of Trana Vindu, a disciple of Akastiyar, whose statue is found in Sumatra.

THE MOST ANCIENT WORK

Though *Tolkappiyam* is the most ancient Tamiḻ work, it must have come into existence after Sanskrit words and Northern influence had penetrated into the language and culture of the Tamils, that is, after the Tamilians had come into contact with and developed the international eastern culture of the ancient world with Sanskrit, the *lingua franca* of the East. It may be there are interpolations of a later age, here and there, in this work, but in the main it represents the ancient Tamilian culture, capable of being deciphered by the modern mind. The Tamil country of *Tolkappiyam* had the seas for its boundaries on the East, the South and the West, with the Tirupathi Hills on the North. A laudatory but contemporary verse usually found at its beginning, speaks of a Professor of Kerala, presiding over an assembly of the learned, convened for judging its merit. Malabar, wherein lies Kerala, was in that age a part and parcel of Tamil land and it continued to be as such almost to the 10th and 11th Century of the Christian era, with Tamiḻ as its spoken and literary language, in which its Kings—Ilanko, Cheraman Perumal, Kulacekara Aḻvar and Vēṇāṭṭaṭikal sang their heartfelt hymns.

Though it is the most ancient book now available, yet it refers to more ancient authors, though not by name; they are not named perhaps because they are a legion. It thus gives the picture of a society much anterior to it. It consists of three parts. The first part is on the letters; really it is a treatise on phonology, and orthography, almost looking modern with its objective outlook. The second is on words; it is really a treatise on etymology, morphology, syntax and semantics, proceeding as

any modern linguist will do from the sentence to the words. It makes an original assertion that there are only two categories of words in relation to the sentence—the Subject or the name word, the Predicate or the action word, everything else assuming either the characteristic feature of Noun or Verb or coming as their adjuncts; and that in relation to the constitution of the words there are two categories viz. (1) the roots or the real or significant part of the word viz. Semanteme and (2) affixes—the morpheme. Here also one finds that the schools of grammar have become more or less one from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin in spite of their dealing with different languages.

The third part is peculiarly a Tamilian branch of learning on Subject Matter; it is really a treatise on poetry, prosody, rhetoric, poetic conventions and sentiments. It is only in Tamil that we find these treated along with the topics of the other two parts. The idealised love with all its poetic conventions is studied from manifold situations of life. This has an outer aspect with many an actual situation of the world, with all the conventions of the society. Here one gets the organic theory of verse or poetry where every element exists for the whole. Humorous stories, fables, old and new stories, in prose and verse, in colloquial and classic style are referred to. The simile or the metaphor comes in for bringing out the significance of the idea of poetry; the other figures are but its varied forms. Sentiments—there are eight of them—enliven poetry; here arises the miracle of the poet making us see as he does. Verses, and that occasional verses, rule the literature of the day: in dramatic monologues, suggestion plays an important part. In describing the extra-marital escapades of the lover, culture eschews direct reference and has resourse to allegory masquerading as a description of natural scenery.

GOLDEN AGE OF TAMIL

The age of the Third Academy or Caṅkam has been looked up to, all along the last thousand years and more, ever since the time of Appar, if not earlier, as the Golden Age of Tamil. The commentators on *Tolkāppiyam* speak of "*Tokaiyum Pāṭṭum*" as constituting the Caṅkam poems. *Tokai* is the anthology—and here it refers to the eight great anthologies—(1) *Kalittokai* (2) *Paripāṭal* (3) *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* (4) *Patiṟṟupattu* (5) *Puṟam* (6) *Akam* (7) *Naṟṟiṇai* (8) *Kuṟuntokai.*

Kali-p-pā suggests to us the Sonnet of the West with its introductory opening, its body of elaboration, and its emphatic conclusion. *Paripāṭal* is more elaborate and of greater length enjoying also greater freedom, following the dictates of music. It is in effect a musical composition more like a dramatic opera. Both these kinds of verses are best fitted for lyric poetry and for dramatisation. The dramatic monologue sometimes becomes in these verse-forms, a dramatic dialogue. There are two anthologies, one of *Kalippā* and the other of *Paripāṭal*. They must have had a popular appeal and remind us of the folk songs and describe not only the higher strata of society as the verses of the othe anthologies do, but also the liwer strata, with a greater freedom from idealised conventions.

The *patiṟṟuppattu* or the Ten Tens consists of ten laudatory poems on ten Cēra Kings, each poem consisting of ten verses. Each verse is named after its suggestive and beautiful, eloquent and living phrase—the very quintessence of the verse. Unfortunately the opening Ten and the concluding Ten have provided a sumptuous feast to white ants and thus have been lost to us for ever. What remains gives a picture of the Cēra Kings, their Kingdoms, their ideals and their wars.

Aiṅkuṟu Nūṟu. "The Five Centuries of Verses", is an anthology of five hundred verses by five different authors, the verses being the "*āciriyam*" corresponding roughly to the blank verse. "*Kuṟu*" means "short" and refers to the short dimension of these verses. One has perhaps here very many patterns of folk songs—the song of the pig, the song of the parrot and the song of the peacock, all in ten verses, each ten having a similarity of beginning or a repetition of lines and phrases. These are all dramatic monologues of the lovers or their companions or of the heroine's nurse.

Puṟanāṉūṟu, consists of 400 verses not on the inner love but on the external glory and grandeur, aims and achievements of the Kings and chieftains of the Caṅkam Age—the three great ancient kings of South India, the Cēra, the Pāndya, and the Cōḻa, the seven great patrons and other chieftains and great men of Tamiḻakam, These verses are again couched in the form of dramatic monologue.

PUṚAM AND AKAM

'*Puṛam*', the exterior or the outer, and '*Akam*', the interior or the inner, form the two great approaches of the poets of this Age. '*Akam*' poetry is the Poetry of the Noumenon and '*Puṛam*' Poetry, the Poetry of the Phenomenon. The innermost truth is revealed as Love. But there is nothing metaphysical or mystical about this poetry of the Noumenon.

The rule in *Tolkāppiyam* tells us that the persons in thls kind of poetry are not particularised or named. They are idealised and represented as being unique; but that is probably because the expression of this inner truth requires an involved soul; the books speak of Perfection, physical, material, moral, mental and spiritual. But the persons do not become types; the experience is nothing peculiar to any type; it can be the autobiography of any individual; that is how it comes to be understood, by all. Like the salvation promised to Hinduism, this experience is the birth-right of all souls, here of human beings. The Man speaks; the Woman speaks; the background of the world is there as the theatre of their drama of life. But all this is but a scaffolding for the revelation of the expression of the inner Truth.

As contrasted with this poetry which gives the eternal and the universal, the real and the poetic experience of Man, the poetry of the Phenomenon gives us the experiences of Man, of himself and his outer world, an experience which can be dated, and which is the experience of any particular individual to be named. It is not that this poetry does not rise to the height of the universal; it does, but by emphasising the phenomenon. As a matter of fact, according to the theory of *Tolkāppiyam*, these two, '*Akam*' and *Puṛam*' are but two sides of the same coin; the commentators speak of the inner palm of the hand and its back.

Often '*Akam*' is spoken of as the Poetry of Love and '*Puṛam*' as the Poetry of Heroism. But though this gives a rough and ready picture of the ancient Tamil literature, it is not correct. That Love as a phenomenon does form the basis of many verses in '*Puṛam*' and heroism is not absent from '*Akam*', explains the significance it receives at the hands of the mystic poets, the Āḻvārs and Nāyaṉmars, the Vaishnavaite and Saivaite saints, and

also the tradition about Love which persists even in modern times.

EIGHT ANTHOLOGIES

Coming to the eight anthologies, *Patirrupattu* and *Puranānūru* are '*Puram*' poetry; so is a portion of *Paripātal*. The rest belong to the '*Akam*' Poetry—a predominance and a pre-eminence which can only be understood on the basis of the explanation here suggested. Three other anthologies remain to be referred to. They consist of 400 verses each. A curious procedure has been followed in the compilation of these anthologies. The verses consisting of 4 to 8 are grouped together as *Kurun-Tokai* or the Short Anthology; the poems consisting of 13 to 32 lines are brought together as the Long Anthology or *Netun-Tokai*: the middling verses of 9 to 12 lines form the "good" Anthology: the word "good" signifying here the happy mean or the "good mean" reminding us in that way, the highest ethical conception of the "golden mean" of ancient Greece. On the surface of it, this arrangement is superficial and artificial. But if the poets are, as explained by Edgar Allen Poe, trying to catch the ever-vanishing poetic moment and to give it an art-form in the proper poetic phrase or word, there is something intrinsic in these varying dimensions of poetry, which are so many attempts at successive condensation and concentration. True to this reading of ours, the poets themselves are named after their suggestive phrases; even verses are named after their "live" phrases, as always pointed out in relation to *Patirruppattu*.

But poetic condensation does not exhaust poetic expression. There is also a feeling for poetic elaboration. A photograph, though small in size, may be sharp and clear; but if properly taken, a bigger picture can be equally sharp and graphic, it all being a question of proper focus. Life reduced to a poetic moment is too difficult for easy and clear understanding. The feeling for elaboration assumes greater prominence in the Cankam Age itself; longer poems of 100 lines and more, sometimes going beyond 600 lines, earn a permanent place in Tamil literature as *Pāttu*. Ten such idylls—but still continuing as dramatic monologues—have been compiled as *Pattuppāttu*.

Five of these are praises of patrons of art and literature; they are in the form of a poetic guide or "*Ārrupatai*" which

literally means "putting us in the way" or "showing the way". The artist, a musician, a dancer or an actor, who after undergoing the miseries of proverty and neglect, is fortunate enough to meet the patron and return laden with gifts, to meet, significantly in the forest, another of his tribesman, poor and crestfallen, almost like a ghost of his former self. The new-comer is sent to the patron, in the hope of returning rich like the other artist. The way to the city of the patron, his country, his personal appearance, his love of art, his hospitality, his valour, his statesmanship and his kindness are all described in a realistic way, although breathing an air of idealism. The geographical motive is clear but they are examples of Nature Poetry. The description of the ideal country and the ideal city develops into a National tradition of the Tamils and the roots of these Utopias found in every epic and purana as *Nāṭṭuppaṭalam* and *Nakarappaṭalam*, are imbedded in this ancient type of Tamil poetry.

ETERNAL YOUTH AND BEAUTY

One of these *āṟṟuppaṭais* spiritual or mystic guide to God or the Eternal Youth of Beauty, (*Murukaṉ-Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*— is universal in its appeal tryin̄g to harmonise all kinds of workship and thought, and revealing to us the divinity of even the blood-curdling dance of an enchanted mountain lass, offering her prayers to her God, in that peculiar way, which to an unsympathetic critic will have appeared as devil-dance, a dance which to our Poet Nakkīraṟ however is a revelation of the Eternal Beaūty of God (*Murukāṟṟuppaṭutta*). Because of this loving outlook, the poem itself has become known after this beautiful phrase. The poem starts from Maturai and Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam, goes to Tiruccentūr on the South, turns north and west to Paḻani and the distant Ērakam of the Cēra country, only to return to the Aḻakar Hills near its starting place of Maturai, after going round all the mountain of the wide world, on whose peaks shines the Eternal Beauty as the Divine Principle inspiring the life of the residents, each one of them dancing with the Lord—the Great Rāsa Lila—as His beloved.

The sixth idyll is also a praise of a king and patron and its ideal is to lead the king to a higher spiritual life. Evanescence of life is emphasised not to lead on to asceticism but to a richer and nobler life inspired by high ideals—a life which is

deprived of no luxury but enriched by Truth, Beauty and Goodness. This idyll contains a beautiful description of Maturai, the Capital of the Pandyas even as the other idyll *Paṭṭiṉappālai* contains a graphic motion picture of *Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉam* the ancient Kāviri emporium of the Greek writers, the sea-port of the Cōḻas. The Cēra caqital is also referred to. The poems give us pen-pictures of Kāñci and other cities of the chieftains who come to occupy more and more importance in Tamil land. These idylls seem to suggest the shifting of the political centre of gravity, from the Kings to these chieftains.

MOUNTAIN SONG

The other four idylls including the *Paṭṭiṉappālai* are *Kuṟiñci*, *pālai*, *Mullai*, and perhaps on *Neytal*, for *Neṭunalvāṭai* may be taken to be *Neytal*. *Kuṟiñci* is the happy union of the ideal lovers brought about by their very loving hearts of culture, obeying the laws of Providence and reaching the goal set up for them by Nature. It is not blind passion but chaste love on which rests the happy and moral life of society. The *Kuṟiñci* or the Mountain song. it is said, has been composed by the great Tamil poet Kapilar, to explain to an Aryan King in a poetic way, the message of Tamil; and probably this poem produced this effect; for one finds a verse from the pen of this King included in the *Kuruntokai*.

Mullai is ideal chastity where the loving hearts bearing jointly the burden of life feel and think alike. The Song of the Jasmine explains this communion of souls. *Pālai* is the feeling of separation and this is the central theme of *Paṭṭiṉappālai*. *Neytal* is the feeling of desolation and despair. The song of the "Long-drawn North Wind" makes this feeling come alive in the form of the Queen, separated from her loving King who is found encouraging his wounded soldiers on the battlefield which he cannot avoid, but which he turns to a better and higher purpose of establishing a kingdom of love. *Marutam* wherein prostitutes and jealousy enter, is the fifth aspect of love and it is significant that it is absent in this collection of idylls —suggesting a moral revulsion of the age at its close, felt against that institution corrupting urban life. *Marutam* has to wait for its glorification. in the hands of Tiruvaḷḷuvar who describes it as the inevitable conflict and obstruction of separate existence to be conquered by the two loving hearts becoming one—some-

thing like the conflict the artist feels in moulding his recalcitrant physical medium, before his art becomes one with it. The inner principle of love is thus viewed from various angles.

Samudragupta meets a Pallava King of Kāñci, Vishnugupta, at the time of his victorious march to the South. Pallavas are nowhere mentioned in these Caṅkam verses which may be therefore ascribed to a period ending with the third century of the Christian era. The description of the Tamil country as found in the Greek and Roman writers agree with the pen pictures of the Caṅkam poets. The Roman coins of Augustus are found in Southern India. Gajabāhu ruling Ceylon in the second century A.D., is according to Rajavali, the king who introduced into Ceylon the Cult of the Chaste Woman, namely Kaṇṇaki. There are references to the Nanda Kings, Pataliputra on the River Son and the Mauryas, in the Caṇkam poems. The heyday of the Caṅkam age may be taken as the two centuries preceding and the two centuries succeeding the beginning of the Christian era, this glorious period slowly coming to a close in the third century A.D. The Caṅkam poems in important respects go against the rules of *Tolkāppiyam* which may be therefore ascribed to a period anterior to them.

AGE OF EPIGRAMS

The age of lyrics and idylls is succeeded by an age of epigrams. The word "succeeded" may not be quite correct; probably these epigrams started becoming important in the Caṅkam age itself. There are eighteen works of this type. They are not anthologies but collections of verses by individual poets. There is still no narrative poem developing; each verse still stands by itself, though these can be grouped as love-poems or moral poems. Thanks to the successful growth of Buddhism and Jainism, ethics becomes the pre-occupation of the poets. The blank verse of longer rhythm, gives place to epigrammatic rhythm of *Veṇpā*—the quatrain and the couplet, all following the rhythm of speech and assertion—marking the change in the idiom of the language and the climate of culture.

Six of these are collections of verses on love; one describes the battle-field of Kaḷumalam where the Cōḷa Kōccenkaṇṇāṉ has defeated the Cēra King; therefore it is a '*Puṟam*' verse pure and simple; but the rest are also '*Puṟam*,' but are unique in being bunches of ethical epigrams.

Three of them are named after the popular medicines of the age; the ethical works being as good as these medicines, curing us of our moral ills, and restoring us to the health of good life (*Tirikaṭukam*, *Ēlāti*, *Ciṟupañcamūlam*). In each verse three, four or five moral principles are enunciated; hence the propriety of such names as *Tirikaṭukam* (the three bitters), *Ciṟupañcamūlam* (the five roots) and *Nāṉmaṇikkaṭikai* (the necklace of four gems).

There are again two forties, one enumerating the sweet "do's" and the other bitter "don'ts" of moral life. '*Ācārakkōvai*' is a garland of moral habits. Paḻamoḻi is a collection of 400 verses on morals, each verse ending with an emphatic proverb of the times, illustrating the moral preached. Mutumoḻikkāñci preaches morals in this ephemeral world, as the heading itself suggests through age-long proverb-like statements. '*Nālaṭiyār*' has become popular and well known to the world through its translation by Rev. G. U. Pope.

Some of these verses echo the Sanskrit *Subhāshitas*—not necessarily their translations but expressions in Tamil of ideas which have become current coins in Ancient India even as, the Subhāshitas are their expressions in Sanskrit. A few of the verses in *Nālaṭiyār* refer to Muttiraiyars, which term if it means the vassals of the Pallavas will bring the book to the age of the later Pallavas, though the term may refer, if it belongs to an earlier age, to the three ancient Kings of the Tamil land. It is said that Eight thousand Jain saints once wrote a Tamil verse each and these four hundred alone were saved from the floods.

All these works give us a picture of the ideal of the Age as the Ethical man even as the Caṅkam Age tried to pictuse forth man as "Love".

KUṞAḶ

Only seventeen of these have been mentioned. The eighteenth is the glorious *Kuṟaḷ* by Tiruvaḷḷuvar, the Sage of Mylapore. According to tradition it brought about the downfall of the "Literary Academy" which had lost its grip on life, trying to run after shadows. Phrases reminding us of *Kuṟal* are found in the Caṅkam poems and therefore many argue that this work is anterior to the Caṅkam works. Perhaps it be-

longs to the closing period of the Cankam age, if not marking the dawn of a new age. It follows the Cankam ideal. The first part is on *Aṛam* or Dharma; the second part is on *Poruḷ* or Artha and the third is on *Kāmam* or Love. What is separately treated by other books as the fourth ideal of Man—Mōgsha—comes within Tiruvaḷḷuvar's comprehensive vision of Dharma or *Aṛam*. The citizens become as it were the goal of his artha. He goes down to the bed rock of human nature and his statements become applicable to all, though addressed to the kings, ministers and ambassadors. Love here is not treated as in other Kamaśāstras; it is the Love of the Cankam age; the 250 couplets herein are, in short 250 love songs of the Cankam age, idealised and purified. The work is universal in its appeal, emphasising the truths of life which remain true in all ages and in all lands. Such was his grasp of the essentials even in an age when exteriors misled men as their will-o'-the-wisp. Giving as he does, his poetic vision of moral principles, his epigrams cease to be merely didactic, life-less platitudes and become inspired poetry.

The Cankam Age so far has given us only dramatic monologues with the verse-form alone growing in dimensions. Somewhere about the end of this age, by bringing together these longer verses or *Pāṭṭus* as various chapters or *Katais* and by adding up the poetic moments or incidents, as it were, the narrative poem comes into existence.

STORY OF THE ANKLET

'Kaṇṇaki' Cult, as already pointed out is as old as the second century A.D. The first great Epic of the Tamilians is *Cilappatikāram*. It is the story of the chaste woman, Kaṇṇaki. Society had made chastity, with a view to its preservation, the special concern of the married women, while the enchanting Arts became the close preserve of Public women, thus creating and demanding a double loyalty from the lovers of arts, however, moral they be. The ardent lover and husband of Kaṇṇaki, with a heart of good impulses, with all his learning of the age and his experience of the world, as an artist himself becomes the admirer and ardent lover of Māṭavi, the greatest musician and dancer of the age, placing all his wealth as an offering to a life of art and pleasure and charity and self-sacrifice. Mātavi, against the expectations of society, stands as an embodiment of chastity and art, beauty and self-sacrifice.

Kaṉṉaki remains deserted, but this mighty personality does not grumble. Society, overflowing with riches, has created in everybody's mind the conviction that a chaste Mātavi is an impossibility, and when Mātavi dances in public, the green-eyed monster of jealousy poisons the mind of Kōvalaṉ who sings as though he is in love with another woman, hearing which Mātavi becomes piqued and retorts. Kaṉṉaki comes back to Kōvalaṉ's mind with redoubled force and he rushes back to her.

The husband and wife start at the dead of night for Maturai. Kōvalaṉ wishes to sell her anklet in the distant city and to restart his life as a merchant amidst unknown surroundings. The King of Maturai is charmed by the music and dance at the Court but alas, only to kindle the fire of jealousy in the heart of his beloved Queen. To the villain of a royal jeweller, who has stolen away the anklet of the Queen and to whom fate drags Kōvalaṉ offering Kaṉṉaki's anklet for sale, an anklet which, in the eye of this villain, is very much like the one he has stolen. Fate sends the villain to the Pandya King just at the moment he is rushing to pacify his Queen and instead of ordering the seizure of the anklet and the arrest of the accused to be punished if found guilty, in his perturbed state of mind, the King utters the fateful words "kill the accused and seize the anklet". The tragedy follows.

In an unknown land, though a foreigner and a helpless woman, the patient Kaṉṉaki works herself up to a rage and her righteous indignation makes her fearless. Her anklet jingles with rubies inside, whilst the anklet of the Queen jingles with pearls. Kaṉṉaki enters the Royal court and by dashing to pieces her anklet, proves conclusively the innocence of her husband. The Pandya King, unable to bear his own injustice, drops down dead on his throne and his chaste Queen dies along with him.

Thus is brought about the downfall of Maturai. The society, responsible for this tragedy is yet there to be burnt. The poet makes Kaṉṉaki hurl on the City one of her mammalian glands—what has been taken in others as misleading and corrupting the world, though intended as the sign and charm of maternal love. Society has denied natural motherhood to her—a privilege, though unexpectedly, the same society has con-

ferred on Mātavi. The corrupt society—not the men and women of morals, not the innocent, but the men and women who hanker after selfish pleasures—is burnt down to ashes. Kaṇṇaki is pacified and meets her Lord in Heaven.

The Cēra King hears of this and resolves to raise a temple dedicated to her. He goes to the Himalayas for bringing the stone to be chiselled into her form and on his way defeats the Northern Kings who have slighted the Tamils. All the Kings assemble before her altar in the city of the Cēra to offer their reverence.

This epic is dramatic through and through and has set the ideal for future epics. In addition, there are various songs and dances—the royal dancer, the hunters, the shepherds and the mountaineers—thus appealing to all strata of society. Tamil land, although without political unity, is revealed in this epic as a cultural unit. The story of a common man and an ordinary woman—two citizens appearing without any right in a foreign court and yet attaining deification because of the divinity of womanhood—the Kings and Queens with their pomp and power relegated to the background—this story has therefore a greater appeal to the modern spirit of democracy. The poetry and the drama are at their zenith in this epic which is said to have been written by Iḷaṅkō—the younger brother of the Cēra King, a prince who had become a monk.

DAUGHTFR OF MĀTAVI

Maṇimēkalai. the other epic which. along with *Cilappatikāram* forms the Twin Epics, is the story of the daughter of Mātavi. Though trained for the life of a Royal musician and dancer, she gives up, in spite of the promptings of her heart, her love for the Prince, learns the secrets of the various religions and philosophies, turns the prison house into a temple of charity, and becomes a Buddhist Nun. It is thus the story of a public woman becoming the Holy Teacher—Mary and Martha in one, becoming a Peter. Here we find another feature of Tamil literature where philosophy is transformed into poetry, perhaps not always successfully. There arises a number of epics of religious or philosophical debates with their names ending in Kēci—*Nīlakēci*, *Kuṇṭalakēci* and so on; great for the boldness of their attempt rather than for their success as poetry.

The Brihathatha of Guṇāḍhya adopted into Tamil by a chieftain of Koṅku country, becomes the *Peruṅkatai*—'the great story'. It is, like the original, full of dramatic incidents, giving ample scope for the poetic talents of the author. Only a fragment, however, is available and even that explains only the Caṅkam philosophy of Love—the communion of souls or hearts brought about by Nature.

ERA OF MAṆIPRAVĀḶA

These are all in the idiom and rhythm of the Caṅkam Age, coming into existence at the end of that age or immediately following it. *Maṇimēkalai* quotes *kuṟaḷ* and therefore must be placed later than Tiruvaḷḷuvar. With the idiom and rhythm changing as already noted, into *Veṇpā*, the story of Ramayana and the tale of Mahabhārata are written in Tamil *Veṇpā*. This old Ramayana is not available exeept for a few verses quoted by the commentators. *Pāratam* has been written by Peruntēvaṉār, a poet of the Court of Nandi III, the Pallava King, the victor of Teḷḷāṟu. As in *Cilappatikāram*. but to a much greater extent in this work, verses are interspersed with prose—not the pure Tamil prose of old, but a prose full of Sanskrit words. Even this work is not available in its entirety. The prose here begins the era of Maṇipravāḷa—a style of writing which, like a necklace of alternating corals and gems harmonised in colours, consists of alternating phrases in Tamil and Sanskrit harmonised in rhythm. This was the result of the Jain influence, and poets like Tiruñāṉacampantar, though scholars themselves in Sanskrit and Tamil, unable to bear the excruciating pain of this grotesque jargon exclaimed: "They know not the sweet effects of Tamil and Sanskrit".

Sanskrit and Prakrit metres influenced the verses of Tamil. *Vrittas* there, apart from *metra vrittas,* has the same number of syllables in each one (Pada) of their four lines. Lines of 16 and 17 syllables had already grown in Tamil and these came to be known as *Viruttam* in the poetry of Appar and Nammāḷvār. Longer verses as known as Tāṇḍava in Sanskrit and the same name is given to verses of longer lines in Appar and Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār. This lengthening of the feet and the lines denotes a change in the idiom and in the rhythm of the language. Later on, these rhythms are attempted to be viewed from the point of the ancient rhythms and one enters the age of the

viruttams. These are not imitations of Sanskrit stanzas but indigenous growths and developments due to experiments in verse-forms—the experiments of the Saivite and Vaishnavite saints of the Pallava Age. This is not a sudden break or growth; it is a slow development beginning in *Cilappatikāram* itself.

The Puranas and the Tantras penetrating into Tamil have become transformed and acclimatised to the new surroundings of the South. Music and dance give them a lovable form. The Bhikshadana becomes the beautiful lover, begging for the love of the souls, reaching the climax in the Nataraja of Universal Dance of Bliss.

Every story of the Purana comes to be represented in a characteristic dance-pose in the sculptures of the age, in the light of which the references to the episode in the literature of the age may be better understood. These stories are not as yet narrated in full; they are slowly soaking through the heart of the Tamilians, revealing various glimpses of the new Tamil vision in the poetry of the Saivite and Vaishnavite Saints. In the hands of Tirumūlar and Paṭṭiṉattār and others, this mythology becomes the language of Mysticism, the language of Symbolism struggling to express to the masses in concrete form what is beyond expression. Tantras follow in original path, true to the Tamil genius, and inspire the glorious temples and temple-worship, thanks to these saints. Psychic researches are being made, as revealed by *Tirumantiram.* The Love of the Caṅkam Age becomes the Bhakti of this new era. Love, the inner Truth of the Caṅkam Age, is now identified by Tirumūlar with God or Siva. In the hands of the saints the Love songs become the Songs of their own heart—the souls as the Beloved of the Lord, pining for His Presence and His Love, especially in the poems of Āṇṭāḷ, the Meerabai of the South.

LITERATURE OF HYMNS

It is not mere emotionalism that we find in the hymns of these saints; it is a religion of universal brotherhood and service, where God, as unified Father and Mother, the Lord of Kailas, is not seen on the distant peak but in the form of every loving couple of living beings. It is a religion of independence refusing to bow down to the worldly power, though trying successfully to convert it to the path of Love and Service. It is a

religion of loving intelligence; that is probably its distinguishing mark, its light, harmonising love and service. If the reality of law cannot be appreciated without a study of Latin; if Science cannot be fathomed without a study of English, French and German; if monotheism cannot be understood without a study of Soviet languages; if philosophy and grammar cannot be admired without a study of Sanskrit; the depth of the literature of hymns or soul-stirring songs cannot be plumbed except through Tamil. When we read the poems of the Tamil Saints, thanks to their poetry, we experience, perhaps as it were in a dream, their mystic communion with God.

The first Āḻvārs of the Pallava country sing in the *Veṇpā* rhythm; so does predominantly the Great Mystic Mother of Saivites, Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār. But the other Saints are lost in the exquisite music of Viruttam. Theirs is not only poetry but musical compositions, perhaps expressed in dance also when sung in that age. These poems unite all the people and all the living beings as one happy family of love and service. The poet of the Caṅkam Age has sung. "Every place is my native village and every one is my kith and kin." Saint Cuntarar of the Pallava Age proclaims with all his love "I fall at the feet of all servants of God of all times and of all places", suggesting a beautiful vision of universal brotherhood of all ages and lands. These "bonemelting songs"—as Māṇikkavācakar's poems are described by Dr. Pope—are really enchanting. All this is the story of the sixth, the seventh, the eighth, and, perhaps, of the ninth century A.D.

CINTĀMAṆI AND AHIMSA

The rhythm of *Viruttam* soon comes to be glorified in the epic form. The Cōla ascendacy and imperialism set the poets thinking of the ideal ruler. The Jain story of Jīvaka becomes in the hands of Tiruttakka Tēvar, the immortal epic *Cintāmaṇi.* It shows how the principle of Ahimsa can be practised even in politics and statecraft. It has a message to the modern age of Mahatma Gandhi and his Satyagraha, not only for winning freedom but also for establishing peace in this world. This philosophy is not one of asceticism but a philosophy of fulfilment—a philosophy of perfect life where comes Eternal Peace, after the enjoyment of the world of Love, of Power and of Sacrifice.

Culāmaṇi set the standard for later epics. *Cūlāmaṇi* by Tōlāmolittēvar, another Jain Saint and poet, gives us its vision of another Jain Emperor of ancient times, Tiviṭṭan. Verses here have become sweeter and the diction almost musical, enriched by a unique imagination, portraying what the author has seen in the world and read in the literatures of Tamil, Sanskrit and Prakrit. In the last chapter of *Cintāmaṇi* and *Cūḷāmaṇi* Jain philosophy appears in the charming garb of Tamil poetry.

The Hindus are not far behind the Jains. The Ideal King is undoubtedly Rama and Ramarajya is the Indian conception of the ideal State.

KAMPAN'S IDEAL KING

Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār loses himself in the contemplation of Rama claiming Guha as his younger brother and as the elder brother of Lakshmana, Kampaṉ develops the story of Ramayana itself as the story of an ever-increasing brotherhood of Man and God; Guha in the North, Sugriva in the Deccan and Vibhishana in the extreme South, become brothers of Rama; these interesting episodes keep time as it were with the march of Rama; Rama himself is the Divine Man as portrayed by the Āḻvārs, but as for as the story is concerned, he is a Man with all his sufferings and pleasures. The *Rākshasas* are, but for their gigantic strength, human to the core. Look at Ravana bemoaning the death of his son Indrajit.

This ideal, as enriched by Caṅkam poetry, by Tiruvaḷḷuvar and by the hymnsof the Saints, is portrayed by Kampaṉ in his inimitable epic. His work begins with a description of the ideal country and the ideal city. The King is the body and the citizens the soul of his State. Has not Tiruvaḷḷuvar placed the glories of the citizen as the very end and aim of the State? Kampaṉ follows *Cilappatikāram* in giving us a vision of chastity. Ravana never touches Sita; he digs up her hut along with the ground, to be placed in his garden. Sita in prison, as described by Kampaṉ, reminds us of loving Gandhi in prison, fully conscious of victory, unperturbed by taunts and tortures. Tara, the wife of Vali does not becomes the beloved of Sugriva but shines in her tapas of widowhood. Vali dies because of his outrage on his brother's wife. Ahalya does not revel in the idea of being the beloved of Indra ; she is beguiled as stated in *Paripāṭal* and

swoons when she realises the situation. Women thus assume a great significance in Kampaṉ's epic.

KAMPAṈ, A MARVEL

This story is called "Kampaṉ's Drama". The first appearance of every character is significant. All through his story we have the tragedies of various personalities with ever-deepening import. The characterisation and architectonics, the dialogue and narrative, are all in keeping with his grand style. Kampaṉ remains a marvel. His greatness has become so proverbial as to be referred to even in the commentaries on grammar. "Greatness in Kampaṉ"—thus speaks a commentary on 'Vīracōḻiyam' of the eleventh century. He is hailed on all sides as the master of *Viruttam*; like the lamp in the hands of Aladdin, it works all the miracles he demands.

Kampaṉ has influenced the later march of Tamil. He is even now popular, not only in the Tamil land but also in the Malayalam country, where his poems are recited in Tamil and explained in Malayalam.

His poems are dramatised in the shadow-plays of Malabar and commented upon behind the screen by the wire-pullers of the puppets. Tulsidas, who is believed to have come o a pilgrimage to Rameswaram, has come under the influence of Kampaṉ's story; for he, like Kampaṉ, makes Sita and Rama meet and love each other before Swayamvara.

Kampaṉ's geography, as revealed in that part of his epic where the monkeys go in search of Sita, is too poor to be the knowledge of any one coming after the victorious march of Rajendra, who probably drew his inspiration from Kampaṉ for establishing a mighty empire.

WAR POEMS

The wars of the Cōḻas give rise to a series of war poems *Paraṇi*. *Paraṇi*—the glorification of war, and its slaughter to the joy of the ghosts relishing the rich feast of blood and flesh of the heroes slain on the battle-field. Ugliness becomes beautiful in that world of ghosts, with their own humour and play. *Paraṇis* eulogising the battle of Koppam, the battle of Kūṭal Caṅkamam and the two diffeaent battles of Kaliṅka are composed in this

age, but only one of them *Kalińkatu-p-parani* by Ceyankontar remains today. The couplet, keeping time to the dance of the ghosts and to the slaughter of the warriors, has shaped itself as a fit and proper vehicle for this kind of war-song.

Oṭṭakkūttar of the 12th century, who has composed another *Parani* on the Kalinga War finds all these paling into insignificance before his vision of the slaughter of the proud egoism of Takka pitting itself against Siva, and the poet gives a *Parani* on this tragic but sublime destruction almost reminding us of the Final Dance of the Absolute and Universal Annihilation. No one could write a *Parani* thereafter on any war of the world. Poems thereafter utilised this *art motif* for allegorically describing the destruction of egoism or the illusion of life or the fundamental ignorance, a destruction which is the victory of the soul and its perfection—one way of making philosophy poetical—as Dante has attempted in his *Inferno* and *Purgatario,* though the attempts in Tamil do not rise to his epic grandeur. *Prabodha Chandrodayam,* a drama in Sanskrit, not so gruesome as our *Parani,* but breathing the same air of war, has been adapted in Tamil as an epic and an allegory in the 18th century.

Oṭṭakkūttar is the master of the hyperbole. Daṇḍi the court poet of Rajasimha Pallava, has been ruling the rhetorical studies of Tamil land. The high-flown Gauḍa style becomes the natural style of Oṭṭakkūttar trying to express the dance of Virabhadra. Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ has written a poem describing the procession of Siva, where women of Seven ages, allegorically representing souls standing in seven different stages of perfection—the Sapta Bhumi—fell in love with God and beacme God intoxicated. The Cōḷa supremacy and the "divine right" theory of kings suggest the application of this *art motif* to the procession of these Emperors, where women of their harem, of all ages, fall in love with the Emperor. There is here room for poetic description and situation. Oṭṭakkūttar has composed three Ulās respectively on Vikrama, Kulōttunga II, and Raja Raja II. Perhaps his own dissatisfaction with the appropriateness of these poems has suggested to him the writting of *Takkayākap parani,* befitting his style and rhythm.

NATIONAL EPIC ...

A natural revulsion arises against these meaningless glorifications of outward pomp and power. The inner grandeur is

realised as the more permanent truth which alone can save the society from slaughter and licence. Cēkkiḻār, a Prime Minister of the Cōḻa Emperor, becomes a saint and a poet and gets himself steeped in the laws of the Saivite saints. A minute research brings to his mind the vision of the stories of the Saivite saints enumerated by Saint Cuntarar—Saints, all concentrating on God and dedicating their all in the service of the Lord and humanity—saints who all belong to the Tamil country and whose vision chastens the life of Cuntarar.

Cēkkiḻār translates this beautiful vision into a national epic of the Tamilians. The stories describe the onward march of the soul of every Saint—a psychological study so modern, and yet without the blemishes of the present age, and therefore shining as poetic drama. Simplicity and self-sacrifice, a life with an ideal, ready to sacrifice that life itself for that ideal—thus is revealed the glory of human nature. Poor or rich, male or female, young or old, learned or illiterate, everyone becomes a hero and a saint, a patron and a master in this world of sacrifice and service, a glorious preserve of God.

PHILOSOPHY

The Cōḻa power is fast disappearing but the light is not yet out. Meykaṇṭār introduces in his 'Civañāṉapōtam' the Saiva Siddhanta which starts from thence to develop and flourish in the heart of the Tamils, harmonising the philosophy of Sankara and the mystic experiences of the saints of Tamil land, where the world does not become an illusion. Ramanuja has been inspired by the Vaishnavite Aḻvārs and his disciples start writing commentaries on the Tamil poems of Aḻvārs; commentaries which have no equal anywhere else in the world in bringing out the inner meaning and hidden treasure of these poems. This line of commentators comes up to the end of the 14th century with Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi. and Vētāntatēcikar. Thanks to these commentators, these poems have become popular in distant lands where they are written and preserved in Telugu and other Indian scripts.

The commentators on dramatic works and ancient Tamil poems belong to this age of later Cōḻas and a period ceming to the end of the 13th century and a little later. These aim at

restoring the past glory of the Tamilians and at rejuvenating the old tradition. As against the Sanskritist, they try to show that the message of Tamil is not different from that of Sanskrit.

With Malik Kafur, the glory of Tamil has set. But there are stars in the Tamil horizon. Kāḷamēkam who can compose impromptu verses at a minute's notice is one such star of the 14th century. The rhythm of the language and the idiom change. Longer verses—*Iraṭṭai Viruttam*, chiming and keeping time with music become popular. The *Cintu* also comes into existence in the 13th century itself when we hear of *Cintu* by Tiruvāli Parappiṉaṉkūttaṉ. Villiputturār, another star in the firmament, writes his *Pāratam*. With the growth of the Vijayanagar Kingdom, Tamil gains greater patronage. Aruṇakirinātar of the age of Deva Raya II, sings his Tiruppukaḻ, a musical composition with its chiming and dancing rhythm.

The sixteenth century is the century of Akbar. After the downfall of the ancient Kings of Tamil lands, the Mutts come forward to save Tamil literature and philosophy from obliteration. Ativīra Rāma Pāṇṭiyaṉ, the ruler of Teṉkāci, writes his translation *Naiṭatam* and other *Puranas*; *Pākavatam* is translated in Tamil by *Cevvai-c-cūṭuvār*; dictionaries in Tamil come to be written in the alphabetical order by Rēvaṇa Cittar in the 16th century.

CONTACT WITH THE WEST

The seventeenth century opens a new era in Tamil literature on account of the contact with the West. Prose literature starts on its march in Tamil with Robert de Nobile. Poets of the eminence of Kumarakuruparar and Civaprakācar, with other commentators and grammarians, thrive in this era. At the turn of the century, a little earlier or a little later, Christian Beschi writes his epic poem *Tēmpāvaṇi* and the Muslim *Umaṟuppulavar* his *Cīṟāppurāṇam*. thus enriching Tamil with new thoughts of the great religions of the world.

Prose thrives in the hands of the Christian missionaries. The *Paramārta Kuru Katai* of Beschi is a classic of humorous stories, The eighteenth century produces the great Civañāṉa Cuvāmikaḷ, the philosopher, poet and grammarian, with an origi-

nality all his own. His disciples form an interesting group. Musical compositions like *Rāma Nāṭakam* and folk dramas, like the *Paḷḷus, Kuṟavañcis,* and *Noṇṭi Nāṭakams* cheer the heart of the people. More than all these, it is the century which has given us the diaries of Āṉantaraṅkam Piḷḷai, the famous Dubash of the French Colonial Statesman, Dupleix—a unique piece of literature, more interesting and significant than Pepy's diary.

There is the spirit of universalism finding its expression in the poems of Tāyumāṉavar of an earlier age, in whose hands abstruse philosophy becomes mellifluous poetry. It continues in the verses of Cāntaliṅka, a contemporary of Civaprakācar in the poem *Kaṇṇuṭaiya Vaḷḷalār* and in the commentaries of Citampara Cuvāmikaḷ till one comes to Rāmaliṅka Cuvāmikaḷ of the later half of the 19th century. Ramalinka is the poet of the 19th century. Rāmaliṅka is the poet of the future, the one-world idea. Tiru. V. Kalyaṇacuntara Mutaliyār (Tiru-Vi-Ka) of the twentieth century is the last of these prophets of universalism.

THE GREATEST GIFT

The 19th century produces Miṉākshi Cuntaram Piḷḷai writing poems on the old model, but its greatest gift is Dr. Cuvāmināta Aiyar, the great editor of the Caṅkam works. This century is the meeting point of the old world and the new world.

Prose works multiply. The dramas—the street dramas, and later, dramas of the theatre—are being printed. Newspapers are born. Musical compositions of everyday interest are sung and forgotten, leaving a few of permanent interest like *Nantaṉār Kīrttaṉai* of Kōpāla Krishna Pārati. English works on science and history and English dramas are translated and new works on the same lines come to be written in Tamil.

The study of Tamil language has a new world opened before it in Dr. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar. The world comes to know Tamil through Dr. Caldwell and Dr. Pope. The 20th century opens with Campanta Mutaliyār's prose dramas and the poetic drama of 'Maṉōṉmaṇiyam' by Prof. Cuntaram Piḷḷai.

Novels are translated. Newspapers gain strength and power. Humour slowly comes into its own. Maraimalai Aṭikaḷ brings a sweetness and vividness to Tamil prose. Prose becomes free and flowing. Tiru-Vi-Ka inspires it with power. His small sentences assert and arrest. The rhythm and the idiom once again change.

The rhythm and idiom of ordinary speech in accordance with the modern culture of Democracy appear to be more poetic and dramatic than the erstwhile poetry. Prose works have been written till now as a rigmarole, as one long sentence of legal jargon. Slowly it has been realised that nobody speaks like this. Perhaps poetry has been true to the speech even in Kampaṉ and more so in the musical compositions, and especially in *Nonṭiccintu*. Perhaps there is the fear that to use the speech rhythm will be to become colloquial. Tiru-Vi-Ka has been a writer of literary Tamil and yet he uses the speech rhythm without becoming colloquial. Thus he has made it respectable. Others have used it but he has made it an art-form revealing its gradations and variations of power, beauty and sweetness. Today we have in every writer an experiment in Tamil. Pārati's poems have made this once for all the rhythm medium of modern poetry.

The poems of Cuppiramaṇiya Pārati have created an awakening in the Tamil land, proclaiming the dawn of a new era with his new rhythm and idiom. with his message of social, economic and political freedom.

Tamil oratory reveals still further its hidden strength. The language becomes more and more elastic for purposes of science, literary criticism and parlimentary debate. The Radio, with its short talks and plays, brings to light the power of concentration and of kindling imagination till now latent in Tamil. The Tamil Encyclopaedia reveals this language shaping itself into a vehicle of modern thought.

Novels and short stories are daily pouring in, at first, as translations, then as adaptations, but in the end as original compositions. Children's literature is fast developing. The whole future is before this new language thus shaped through all the ages.

A century which has given birth to a poet of such greatness as Cuppiramaṉiya Pārati, which has produced a prose writer of the eminence of Tiru-Vi-Ka, which has seen a methodical and scholary editor of ancient Tamil of the rank of Dr. Cuvāminata Aiyar, need not fear any comparison with the centuries, past or future. A language blessed with poetry and prose which any language can be proud of, some of which are unique, like the poems of Pārati and Kavimaṇi and *Vāḻkai-K-Kuṟippu* of Tiru-Vi-Ka, has indeed a great future.

4. The Theory of Poetry in Tolkāppiyam[1]

TOLKĀPPIYAM

Tolkāppiyam is the earliest book, now available in Tamil not only on grammar but on all the fields of Tamil language and literature—orthography, phonetics, phonology, morphology, etymology, syntax, semantics, prosody, and rhetoric, all of which can be brought in modern times, under Linguistics and Poetics. Many of Tolkāppiyar's rules, as pointed out by his commentators, have lost their force by the time of the Caṅkam literature, now extant, and it is, therefore, assumed to be a book anterior in time to the latter, giving one a picture of the Tamil country of the few centuries before the Caṅkam Poems. According to the tradition, whilst the anthologies under discussion, belong to the Third Caṅkam, *Tolkāppiyam* goes back to the Second Caṅkam, the master of Tolkāppiyar, the sage Agastiya, having had a place in the First Caṅkam. But it is curious to find the same anthological character of literature emphasised by Tolkāppiyar himself. The theory of poetics, adumbrated in his work, implies the very kind of anthology, based on something like the Cankam tradition. It gives in detail elaborate rules for describing the individual moments not in any connected narrative verse of epic grandeur, but in separate unconnected lyrical stanzas. It makes, it is true, a passing reference to old stories *Tol* and new stories *viruntu* but this may, after all, refer to old themes and new themes, treated in distinct dramatic songs.

ITS PROSODY

The Ceyyuḷ Iyal or the chapter on literary composition in *Tolkāppiyam* is really a treatise on prosody. Tolkāppiyar's conception of a verse is such as to give us his theory of poetry we are in search of. The very first Cutram enumerates the various constituents of a verse as its organs: (1) the alphabetical sounds ('Eḻuttu') ; (2) their duration (*Māttirai*) ; (3) their knitting together

1 "The Tamil Culture"—Vol. 1. No. 2. 1952.

into syllable *Acai;* (4) the various permutations and combinations of these syllables as feet (*cīr*) ; (5) the varied integrations of these feet into lines (*Aṭi*) ; (6) the caesura—the coincidence with the metrical and grammatical pause (*yāppu*) ; (7) the lexical tradition (*marapu*); (8) the basic poetic intonations or fundamental poetic tunes (*Tūkku*); (9) the innumerable garland like patterns of the metrical weldings such as assonance and rhyme (*Toṭai*) ; (10) the import or the purport of the verse, controlling and vivifying all these parts, so as to make them expressive of the self same purport ('Nōkku') ; (11) the basic verse patters as so many permanent and natural sound configurations of the Idiom of the language (*pā*) ; (12) the length or dimensions (*Aḷavu*) ; (13) the harking back to the ideal behaviour patterns of an ennobling humanity (*Tiṇai*) ; (14) their varying main currents of activity ('kaikōḷ') ; (15) the speaker ('Kūṟṟu') whose expression is the poem ; (16) the person to whom the poem is spoken ('kēṭpōr') ; (17) the place (*Kalaṉ*) and (18) the time of the poem (*Kālam*); (19) the resulting effect of purpose of the verse (*payaṉ*) ; (20) the sentiment or emotion bubbling forth there; (21) the elliptical construction or the yearning after completion of the sense, at every stage of its progress (*Eccam*); (22) the context making the meaning (*Muṉṉam*) ; (23) the underlying universality (*Poruḷ*) ; (24) the ford in the poetic current where the particularity enters into the flow of poetry or the particularity of the poetic aspect of the verse ('Tuṟai') ; (25) the great linkings or the retrospective and prospective constructions (*Māṭṭu*) ; (26) the colour of the rhythm of the verse (*Vaṇṇam*) ; and (27) the eightfold poetical facades (*Vaṉappu*). These twenty-seven are thus enumerated as the organ of a verse or a literary composition.

THE SIMILE OF A BODY

At first sight, this appears to be a confusing and perplexing conglomeration. Looking deeper into this enumeration, one finds therein, the organic theory of poetry taking shape and form. There is the age long Tamil simile that verse is like the living body of a man. The sound and meaning together form one united whole. The bone, the marrow, the hair, the tooth, the mucus and their varieties of cells make up the body of man; one has to add to these the various mental conditions and other vital constituents of life, known and unknown—in short all the physical, the chemical, the biological, the psychical and the spi-

ritual hierarchies, rising as tiers, one over the other, but all woven into a beautiful unity by Nature—all these go to make up the personality of man. Everything there subserves the higher purpose of this personality, and finds a significance and meaning therein. Even a change in a tiny invisible cell, for instance, of a gland affects the pattern, though the organism may continue to live. So do the various parts of the verse go to make up its individual specific pattern and life.

THE MUSIC OF POETRY

Some of the constituents of the verse, like the letters, their duration, the syllables, the feet, the garland like weldings, the lines, and intonations are elaborations of our phonetic experiences, whilst the resulting sound configurations, the rhythms, the dimensions, and the poetic tunes are prosodic elaborations of such an experience. All these hypnotise the reader, by their basic poetic music, and make him, move and heave with the poem. He stands enchanted, believing in the subject matter and becoming one with it, carried away by the multitudinous concatenation of sonorous sounds of varying durations, modified by breaths: frictions, trillings, liquids, hard and soft explosions, enriched by oral and nasal resonances, and divided into happy collections of significant and natural syllabic pulsations, which in by their flow, by their permutations and combinations, from into various waves of feet, which in their turn move with the poetic mood, by their very force of movement fastening themselves into varying patterns of wreaths or eddies of differing directions and angles of assonance and rhyme, the multifarious dispositions of these lines, giving rise, on this poetic march to varied and variegated poetic tunes, resulting in basic poetic configurations of differing rhythms of many a hue and many a facade.

AUDITORY IMAGINATION

The heading of this paragraph is of Mr. Eliot's coming, and what he says in this connection in his *Use of Poetry*, therefore, throws much light on this conception of what he calls auditory imagination. "It is the feeling for syllable and rhythm, penetrating far below the conscious levels of thought and feeling, invigorating every word, sinking to the most primitive and forgotten, returning to the origin, and bringing something back, seeking the beginning and the end. It works through meanings

certainly or not without means, in the ordinary sense, and fuses the old and oblitorated and the trite, the current, and the new and surprising, the most ancient and the most civilised mentality."

THOUGHT WAVES

The other organs of the verse like the meaning made clear by the context, the elaborate ramifications by allusions and suggestions glowing into life, by sweet remembrances as described at length by Prof. Richards, the lexical traditions of words and their significance, the elliptical construction or the yearning for the predicate after every pause in the continuous flow of the sense making the whole a continuity, and the retrospective and prospective constructions as looking backward and forward to bring about a well knit organised unity, are but ordinary grammatical themes. These are the various ways in which the reader's understanding of a poem and his usual grasp of the meaning are utilised for swaying his mind hither and thither, his mind, thereby heaving up with the crest of the poetic wave, and ebbing away with its trough, and his hyponotised intellect, resonating with the music and meaning of the poem, and thereby, becoming one with the theme.

LIFE OF THE POEM

The remaining constituents of the verse are its speaker, the persons addressed, the time and place, the effect, the sentiment, the generality, particularity and universality of the poem, the last head reminding as of Jung's "archetypes and the unconscious racial and individual memories." These are all what one is accustomed to consider under the head of meaning and subject matter. These form the poetic theme in its concrete and specific reality, vivified by its glowing emotion, appealing to every heart by its universal or archetype, becoming of momentous value, as the expression of a fundamental mode of intrinsically ennobling human behaviour; its value carrying with itself the imprimatur of personal experience. The value of a work of art, as Read suggests, consists not merely in the progressive organisation of impulses for freedom and fullness of life (according to Richards), but also of the open recognition of a moral sanction which is, in the old phraseology, revealed to the artist. The eight fold facades and the import of the parts are attempts at

telescoping these various strata of poetry, viz., the sound, the music, the significance, its sweep and development, the emotion, and the final experience. Everything, thus, appears to be of great importance in the final make up of the poetic personality of the verse, reflecting the personality of the poet. For as Newman has said, "Literature is the personal use or exercise of language. Language itself, in its very origination, would seem to be traceable to individuals. Their peculiarities have given it, its character. We are often able in fact, to trace particular phrases or idioms to individuals. We know the history of their use. Slang, surely, as it is called, comes of and breathes of the personal. The connection between the force of words in particular languages and the habits and sentiments of the nation speaking them, has often been pointed out. And while the many use language, as they find it, the man of genius uses it, indeed but subjects it withal to his own purposes and moulds it according to his own peculiarities. The throng and succession of ideas, thoughts, feelings, imaginations, aspirations which pass within him, the abstractions, the juxtapositions, the comparisons, the discriminations, the conceptions which are so original in him, his views of external things, his judgments upon life, manners, and history, the exercise of his wit, of his humour, of his depth, of his sagacity, all these innumerable and incessant creations, the very pulsation and throbbing of his intellect, does he image forth, to all does he give utterance in a corresponding language, which is as multiform as this inward mental action itself and analogous to it, the faithful expression of his intense personality, attending on his own inward world of thought, as its very shadow; so that we might as well say that one man's shadow is another's as that the style of a really gifted mind can belong to any but himself. It follows him about as a shadow. His thought and feeling are personal and so his language is personal." This is quoted *in extenso,* since it explains the personality of the language of an age as well as the personality of a poem and its author. This digression apart, *Tolkāppiyam* emphasises the fact that the spirit and form of a poem, thus, become an indissoluble untiy—a tadatmya or advaita relationship.

DRAMATIC MOMENTS, NOT DRAMAS

In time, it may be necessary, to explain the implication of some of these constituents. Perhaps, in explaining the ancient Tamil idioms of *Tolkāppiyam* in modern critical terms, we are

trying to fit round pegs into square holes. But, at this point, it is sufficient to note, that every poem is expected to be spoken by one, addressed to some other, at a particular place and time, inspired by an urge or purpose, and resulting in an effect, the whole speech being aglow with a living major sentiment or emotion or feeling. The French Classical Theorists insisted on the three unities of action, time and place. This poetry, as described in *Tolkāppiyam*, contemplates, not only these unities, but also the unity of all these trinities within the unity of a poetical moment of one dramatic speech, and no more. That this interpretation is correct, is further confirmed by the various chapters in *Tolkāppiyam* on Akam, Puṟam, Kaḷavu and Kaṟpu, all of which give a series of illustrative rather than exhaustive poetic situations, where the dramatic persons may give expression to their lyrical feelings. In short, every poem in conceived as a dramatic speech.

ABSENCE OF DRAMA

It is therefore, passing strange that this does not give rise to the growth of any dramatic literature. There is no drama in that age; there are the actors *Porunars* and the dancers; and the Caṅkam poems speak of Puranic er Mythological scenes painted on the walls. Their folk dramas, however, have not developed any literary and permanent form. Dramatic moments and verses do not add up to a drama. That is why there is not a single drama coming from any Caṅkam poet. It may be that their theory of poetry stood in their way of handling the folk drama in a poetic way. Perhaps the paintings and dances of the Caṅkam age are themselves but a series of poetic situations, portrayed and acted without any attempt at hinting at the passage of time. Art becomes a geometrical symmetry, not a rhythmic flow, a composition in space rather than in time; it has its situations, as Monsieur Thibaudet in distinguishing the drama from the novel points out, composed not disposed. The Caṅkam theory of paintings of situations always restricted to particular scene may have influenced the theory of poetry. Perhaps, all these expressions of various arts, follow the same theory of situations. Reference may be made to the eleven great classical dances of the Caṅkam age.

THE DANCES

The eleven ancient dances of Tamil land steep our minds with a flash of an action and no more. Of the eleven, six were

by Sri Krishna. Out of the six, five relate to his strategic war against Vāṉācūraṉ, Vāṉaṉ imprisoned Krishna's grandson Anirudha when found in his palace, having been brought there by Vāṉaṉs daughter madly in love with him. To get him released Indrani, Lakshmi, Manmada and Krishna, to mislead the people of the City, danced separately in that city in the form of an enchanted image (Pāvai by Lakshmi) or in the form of comic figures like a eunuch (Pēṭu by Manmada) or pot dancer (Kuṭam by Krishna) or gate dancer (Kaṭaiyam by Indrani). In the end came the more serious and mortal dance of wrestling (Mā) by Krishna) in which Vāṉaṉ was killed. Alli, unconnected with this episode, is the dance where Krishna, by breaking away its tusk as though it were a lily, danced over the elephant sent against him by Kamcan. Lord Siva along with his consort danced to bring about the extinction of the acuras (Koṭṭi). He also danced over the victory he achieved by burning to ashes the three castles in the air (Pāṇṭarankam). Lord Murukaṉ with the parasol, bent so as to form a screen, danced on the battlefield when the acuras took to their heels, and again after the victory, he danced the drum dance, along with the Seven Virgins (Tuṭi). Durga, the Goddess of War and Victory danced the dance of the Measuring vessel, making it roll over and crush the acuras, when they, to beguile their enemies, assumed the forms of serpents and scorpions. Each one of these represents a particular situation rather than a movement of a story. These remind us of the most primitive form of tragedy as preserved, for instance, in Aeschylus. Referring to this, Prof. Murray says, "There is one great situation in which the poet steeps our minds with almost one or two sudden flashes of action passing over it......woman pursued by the lust of unloved man, the saviour of mankind nailed externally to the rock, the suspense of great people expecting and receiving the news of defeat in war, the agony of a beseiged city......these are all the kind of subjects that might be treated in a simple choral dance with nothing but words and music." Whatever the case may be, it is clear, the poetic theory of *Tolkāppiyam* contemplates occasional verses and not any continuous narrative poem or epic.

KŌVAI AND MĀLAI

The occasional poems could have been collected as portraying a series of situations of love or war, in their temporal order. The composition can be disposed to form a rhythmic flow of time.

Such a thing has happened in 'Iṛayaṉār Akapporuḷ', and the innumerable Kōvais are the results. Kōvai is also a collection but a peculiar collection, representing a garland or a necklace of pearls, where in the overflowing time pattern shines inside the separate poems, as the connecting string, and gives the required unity to the whole collection. Kacciyappar the author of *Taṉikai-purāṇam*, on the basis of the *Tolkāppiyam* rules, has woven together the love story of Valli into a beautiful drama. The war poems can also be narrated as a succession of situations enumerated in *Tolkāppiyam* by collecting together the poems of dramatic speeches and arranging them in such a way as to assume temporal pattern and rhythm. *Puṛapporuḷ Veṇpāmālai* of the latter day, gives us an example of a pioneer work in that field. Again, Kacciyappar in his *Taṉikai-purāṇam*, in its narrative of the war with Curapanman has successfully effected this stringing together of the poetic war situation, enumerated in *Tolkāppiyam* as a continuous narrative. The other Tamil poets, also, whenever they come to sing of war, attempt the same task on a smaller scale.

A LATER CAṄKAM ANTHOLOGY

Something like this has been done, even with reference to the Caṅkam poetry. The literary work called *Takaṭūr Yāttirai*"—the March to Takaṭār—describing the advance of the Cēra army on Takaṭūr, the capital of the chieftain of the age and the patron of learning. Atikamāṉ, and the siege following that march, and the resulting war, is in reality a collection of the occasional verses sung by the two great Caṅkam poets, Aricilkiḻār and Poṉmuṭiyār, on the various poetic situations of that war, arranged by some later day scholar on the pattern of successive events of a war. The poems of Caṅkam age are, thus, capable of being arranged so as to suggest a narration of successive events of a connected story of love or war.

THE ABSOLUTE

Therefore, the most important fact is that this is not attempted by those responsible for the Caṅkam Anthologies, people contemporaneous more or less with the poets. The prevalent theory of poetry of the age, stands against any such artificial collection, artificial in the sense it goes against the nature of their unique occasionalism. If any such thing is attempted, it robs the poems

of their independent and individual poetic significance. Each poem is a chink in the wall of its individuality, giving the glimpse of the whole universe. It is a beautiful dew drop reflecting the whole of the heavens and the earth from its individual point of view, its coign of vantage. To make this universal vision shrink into a point, in the line of a narrative verse is to murder its poetry. Many a gem of purest ray serene may be hidden in the sea of experience, and many are the hidden ways of the subtle artists, working on these valuable gems. Many like the epic poets are great in weaving beautiful patterns, immortalised in the pearl necklace of a Queen or in the diamond diadem of a King—the varying dispositions of the many faceted gems satisfying the varying tastes and vanities of the rich. Some like the Caṅkam poets are great in carving out glistening and living forms of the Divine Dance (Ratna Sabhapati) or the Female Beauty, in each individual gem, infusing and vivifying the dead stone, with their life breath and mystical vision making it, in short, the Absolute. How can this Absolute be reduced to the relative in a pattern?

5. The Theory of Caṅkam Poetry[1]

CAṄKAM

The earliest poetic literature in Tamil has been for the last one thousand years, classified as "Caṅkam Literature" (Caṅkanūlkaḷ). The Western World and its admirers, proud of the great French Academy, which prescribed and upheld literary standards may be surprised to learn through this word "caṅkam" or academy, that, more than a thousand years before the acedemy grew up in France, there was an academy in the southern corner of India. An academy reminds one of a literary dictatorship and stories are not wanting to show the existence of some such purist intolerance in Tamil. A verse describes a Caṅkam poet Cīttalai-c-cāttaṉār, the Reader and the Censor, so to say, of the Academy, as striking with his correcting stile (iron pen) to express his sense of disgust and despair, his own forehead everytime he comes across a mistake in a booksubmitted for his approval. He does it so often that his head continues to be sore with these never ending self-inflicted wounds, till to his great joy and relief, he comes across the faultless *Tirukkuṟal* (Tiru-Vaḷḷuva Mālai). But unfortunately, it is not clear whether the mistakes which he abhors, are neologisms or ordinary slips, degrading tastes or breaches of grammar. There are, however, reasons for holding that this tradition expresses the poetic dream of the purists who revolted against the later day degradation. The Caṅkams, by which name the great Buddhist councils are familiar to the students of Ancient Indian history, signify a democratic rather than a dictatorial attitude; and the literary Caṅkam of the Tamil country can be no exception. In passing it may be noted that we hear of the Jain-Drāvida Caṅkam as well, perhaps as late as the Pallava period, and this Caṅkam is composed of separate schools of learned men.

TOKAI

Caṅkam means, therefore, a gathering, an assembly, a union. The assembly is a living unity, amidst existing variety. It represents a community of spirit, not a blind uniformity of any

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1 "The Tamil Culture" Vol, 1 No. 1, February, 1952.

pedantic academy. The idea of variety as well as community of spirit is implied therein. The Buddhist Caṅkams and the Jain Caṅkams, are much more homogeneous than the Tamil Caṅkam, in which are found followers of conflicting creeds, the Jains like Ulōccaṉār (Ulōccu refers to the ceremony of sacrifice at the time of initiation into the Jaina brotherhood of the Renounced, when the initiate plucks away the tuft of his head and bears in silence the agony) the Buddhist like Iḷampōtiyār (Pōti is a form of the world Buddhist) and Hindus like Nakkīrar and Kapilar. The Caṅkam literature is not one continuous epic or a series of narrative poems. It is nothing but an anthology selected from the various poets of the age. There are eight great anthologies (Eṭṭu-t-tokai: Tokai is a collection, a grouping or an anthology) each consisting of 70 to 400 verses, and a ninth, an anthology of the Ten longest verses, called the Pattu-p-pāṭṭu or the ten Idylls. The Tamil word for anthology is Tokai. Ñāṉa Campantar of the 7th century, looked upon by the Saivites as almost a divine incarnation, curiously enough describes this Caṅkam itself as a Tokai *aṟṟaṉṟi antaṇmaturait tokai ākkiṉāṉum* referring to this bringing together of the poets as a momentous act of God. This beautiful expression, like the related idea of an anthology, emphasises the collective attitude rather than the academic decree. It is rather a democratic commingling than a tyramic coercion. It is not, however, a mere log-rolling, it is a real communion. This represents the cultural climate of the Caṅkam age, with all its rich variation and free growth. But it is not a confusion nor a wild vegetation. Libertarian is not a libertine. The libertine knows no liberty; he is but the slave of his passions. This free game, however, of literature has its own intrinsic rules and regulations laid down or willingly accepted by the gamesters themselves. In the absence of any such mutuality how could there have been a game? Tolerance which bespeaks condescension cannot describe this freedom and harmony. There is here an intense reverence for the highest flights of human reason, imagination and ethical mysticism. The Caṅkam is really a poetic fraternity of free souls. This kind of development of the group thought is universal in the ancient Tamil country, where the shivering grey heads assemble under the ancient banyan tree in every village to decide upon the common course of village action.

PAṬṬIMAṈṞAM

In this connection a reference to the Tamilian institution of Paṭṭimaṉṟam which unfortunately has not received the attention it richly deserves, may not be altogether out of place. This is referred to in the so-called Twin epics, the earliest epics in Tamil, Cilappatikāram and Maṇimēkalai. From these epics, it is clear, that this institution was one of the main constituents of the great National Festival of the Tamil country which was celebrated with great pomp. Perhaps the "Vidvat Parishads", convened along with every public State function, are the last vestiges of this ancient institution. This reveals a wonderful vision of the ancient Tamil culture and civilisation. It has nothing to do with the promiscuous confusion and intemperate jollity usually suggested by the idea of feats and festivities of a national festival. It is not a meaningless sight-seeing or cruel tournaments and bull fights; not a noisy concourse of vain humanity, but a philosophical feat and interplay of the wisdom of the sages. It is the assembly of the poets and philosophers, of the earnest seekers after truth. It is not even a debate of warring creeds and dogmas but the Parliament of Religion and the Temple of Harmony, with no overshadowing by any pride or prejudice, ever with its heart opening towards the rising Sun of Truth on the intellectual horizon. This occupies such an important place in the national festival that all the people are attracted towards it in a spirit of reverence. It is this earnest quest after truth, free from all bias and prejudice, from all superstitions and prepossessions, that is the characteristic feature of the intellectual climate of the Caṅkam age. It is not that there are no superstitions; but they never inspire people to quarrel or to become blind to truth; they are nothing more than accidents of life in its historical march.

THE UNIVERSITY

It is not philosophers alone who go about the Ancient Tamil land as conceived by this conceptien of *Paṭṭimaṉṟam.* India has been a land of pilgrimage; and the sages and the seers, the bards and poets always play an important role in the spread of this universal culture, as is found even to-day in the various "melas", in various parts of the country. As is made clear by the opening lines of Porunarāṟṟu-p-paṭai, the bards and poets, the dancers and musicians, also occupy a prominent place in the

festivals of the Tamil country where these devotees of art, refusing to continue as parasites in any one village, after the festival, move on to other places of art festivals in every nook and corner of the Tamil land, as the great messengers of Art and Poetry. Thus, one gets a conception of the old university on heels or wheels, a mobile university as contrasted with the permanent seats of learning or universities like the Caṅkam. Maturai has continued to be the ancient seat of learning in South India, till due to the growing contact with the North, the centre of gravity of South Indian learning moves northwards to Kāñcīvaram. Caṅkam may, therefore, be looked upon as an ancient university rather than an academy.

ABSENCE OF EPIC

The Caṅkam poetry breathes this spirit of harmony of varied outlook, in spite of, or perhaps because of, its seriousness of purpose, earnestness and sincerity. This spirit is very often mistaken for rank realism by some critics of the Caṅkam literature; but this point will be discussed in its proper place. This harmony is possible because of the underlying spirit of equality, in addition to the feeling of fraternity in an atmosphere of freedom, already referred to. There is in the Caṅkam age neither an epic nor any longer poem of that kind, towering head and shoulders over the other poems. This absence of the epic is a symptom of the intellectual equality of the democratic Caṅkam literature. All are equal in the eyes of the God of Truth, the man and the woman, the king and the beggar, the old and the young, the primitive hunter of the forest and the civilised minister of state, the Jain and the Buddhist, the devil dancer and the sage. All are equal in the Temple of Poetry, each in his turn offering the out-pouring of his heart—the very life blood of Truth. The poets of the Caṅkam Age come from all these groups.

POETIC BAPTISM

The poetic worth is the only thing sought after, all other paraphernalia are but outer trappings, counting for nothing. The poet is considered great and his name is gratefully remembered. But the name is immortalised not for anything else but his poetic vision; he is remembered as the seer of the poetic vision; all else is immaterial. In this view of things, the accident of his name also does not count. There is, therefore, no attempt

to research and recollect this accident of a name, should it be ever forgotten by the world. His beautiful expression immortalising the passing but divine, elusive but permanent poetic moment is looked upon as the quintessence of his poetic life and therefore is always remembered. He is more often than not baptised anew in this eternal fire of poetry and christened after a beautiful phrase he has himself woven. A poet is called for instance *cempulappeyal nīrār* because he has used the beautiful simile of *cempulappeyal-nīr* and a host of others are called in a similar manner after the phrases used by them. The name which means nothing is often forgotten but not this unique poetic personality so very well reflected in the ambrosial dew drops of his own literary phrase.

UNITY

The anthological character of the Caṅkam literature has something intrinsic about it. It is a co-operative venture—perhaps an unconscious collective adventure in poetry. The Tamil country is not blessed, in the Caṅkam Age, with a political unity, but the poets whilst singing of the three kingdoms of old, establish a cultural unity. *Tolkāppiam*, the earliest grammar in Tamil now available, refers to the ancient monarchs of Tamilakam with their respective distinct emblems (sutram 1005 to 1336) but yet speaks by implication of an all pervasive theory of language and literature reigning supreme in the hearts of the people. It is the universal outlook of the poets that makes their adventure succeed whilst, the warring heroes and scheming politicians fail in those days. This emphasis on the unity of Tamil culture has continued all through the history of Tamil literature. Caṅkam poetry, therefore, lives, inspires and gives directions to its history. Its universalism, and its conception of brotherhood of man ("*yātumūrē yāvarum kēḷir*." "Every village is my native village and all are my kith and kin") breathe through the greatest poetry of Tamil literature, in *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, in Kampan and in the eclectic poets from Tirumūlar to Rāmaliṅkar.

THE GOPURAM

In other literatures of the world and in other periods of Tamil literature itself, poetic greatness finds its expression in one great personality like Kalidasa, Kampar, Shakespeare, Virgil, or Dante. But in Caṅkam poetry, though the personality of the

poet casts its reflection in his poem, it does not stand separate and distinct. All these personalities form into one unity, even as the waves of the ocean are one with its expanse. The great names of poetry all the world over live by the bulk of their poetic work, not by a mere bunchof lyrics as in the cankam poetry, however exquisite they may be, ushering in a great poetic form, the choicest gift of their invention and their art of variation, choosing a subject-matter recognised to be of universal importance and treating it with imaginative authority, otherwise called originality, giving through it all, their lfeie message at once personal and of general relevance on vital and all absorbing aspects of human experience. These poets, as Mallarame says, "Donnent un sens pur aux Nots de la tribe" (which Mr. Eliot translates) "Purify the dialect of the tribe." "Such poets not only write poems that are felicitious in phrase and rhythm in which the diction seems exquisitely appropriate but they revive the very stuff of poetry, the language and speech rhythm of their day and country, they recreate the instruments they use and suggest to their contemporaries and to those who come after them, new capacities in the language, new possibilities of poetic expression." Caṅkam poetry is unique as group poetry *par excellence*. It has a personality of its own representing the group mind and the group personality of the Caṅkam age, Taken as a whole, it satisfies all the requirements of great poetry, enumerated above. The folk songs and proverbs of an age, with their authors unknown, form a unity, as the very expression of the national personality and the language. Caṅkam poetry, though too cultured to be called folk song, consciously creates this universal personality and that is why it has been classified as a separate group in Tamil literature—the really great national poetry, not in the sense of national popularity but in the sense of being the voice of the nation in its origin. These remind us of the towering gopuram of Tanjore expressing the aspiring spiritual height of the Cōḷa age, though it is not the handiwork of any one sculptor but the work of a group of artists, each giving expression in rock to a vision of his own. It is therefore necessary to realise the importance of this conception of Caṅkam literature as a *Tokai* or anthology or group poetry which lies at the very root of the theory of Caṅkam poetry.

6. Nakkirar, the Earliest Tamil Mystic[1]

Nakkīrar or Kīrar the Great is considered to be a poet of the Caṅkam or the Tamil . Academy of Ancient Maturai of the earlier centuries of the Christian Era. He is the reputed author of a famous Tamil poem *Tiru-Murukāṟṟuppaṭai*, found included in the old Anthology of Ten Idylls, and later in the Eleventh Book of Saivism. This XIth Book consists, preponderatingly of Pre-Tēvāram Poems (if Nampiyāṇṭar's poems are omitted), collected in the Tenth century, under the patronage of the *Cōḷas*, long after the religious revival of the Saivite Nāyaṉmārs and the Vaisnavite Āḻvārs. Even if this tradtion is not true, for others suggest a later age and differentiate the author of this poem from the Caṅkam poet of the same name, the poem on all sides is admitted to be anterior to Tēvāram and other Saivite works. Therefore one will be justified in claiming Nakkīrar as the earliest known Mystic of Tamil Land.

Very little is known about the author except that he was in the court of the great Pandiya King Neṭuñceḻiya the Victor of Talaiyālaṅ Kāṉam. As hinted at by the prefix *nā* 'great' he was one of the best poets of the *Caṅkam*. A part from the *Caṅkam* poems, he is according to tradition, the author of a commentary on a treatise on Love poetry in Tamil by Iṟaiyaṉār, identified with Siva Himself and in this he brings out the significance of Love. Perhaps this commentator is a different person.

Various anecdotes, however, have grown round his name. Once a Pandiya, it is said, suddenly when all alone with his queen experienced a waft of a new fragrance and he announced a rich prize for the poet solving his mental puzzle. The then priest of the Maturai temple, a bachelor and a Brahmin, always praying to God for money for his marriage, received a poem from the Lord, to be handed over to the Pandiya for winning the prize. The poem is, a rhetorical interrogation to a bee, by a lover, praising his lady-love: "Is there a sweeter fragrance of flowers than that of these tresses of hair?"

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1 "The Tamil culture" Vol. IV No. 4. Oct. 1957.

The Pandiya was convinced that the sweet smell came from the Queen's lock of hair. But Nakkīrar disputed this fact; Siva Himself had to come in the form of an old Brahmin, but Nakkīrar intoxicated by his own power of debate, refused to yield even when the Lord hinted at His identity by opening the Third Eye of His. Nakkīrar was cursed and he became a leper. but by singing the praises of Siva at Kalahasti he became whole. But this poem and others though attributed to a poet of the same name really belong to a later date. The identity of the name has led to this confusion.

There is another anecdote about the composition of the poem *Tiru-Murukāṟṟuppaṭai* Nakkīrar entered once a magic area of an evil spirit or a wizard, who imprisoned one after another 99 people and waited for the 100th one for the final ritualistic slaughter of all. There was an enchanted tank into which if a leaf fell, the portion in the water became a fish. Nakkīrar, whilst performing his worship, saw this wonder and forgot his puja. The wizard, as was usual with him, took this opportunity to bring Nakkīrar under his control and to imprison him with joy born of the feeling of certainty that his ritual could be performed the very next day. The other 99 cursed Nakkīrar for his coming to seal their fate so soon. Nakkīrar thereupon composed this poem and Muruka released them all from the cave and the evil spirit.

In Tiru-Murukāṟṟuppaṭai, '*Tiru*' like the Sanskrit word 'Sri' is a prefix, usually added to the name of any sacred thing, place or book. Āṟṟuppaṭai, is the name of a variety of literary composition; it literally means "to send or guide one on the right path"; it may be translated as the Guide. This *art-motif* usually has its starting point, in the casual meeting of a starving and neglected artist made more miserable by the necessity of his supporting a beautiful artist of a wife and dependent followers, on the way in a desert, and under the scorching midday sun of summer with another artist, returning from his patron with all pomp and grandeur. This happy artist, out of pity and out of reverence for the greater art of the poorer one, narrates how he had been to the patron, how the kind and loving lord of great valour and power became a slave to art and gave a royal welcome to the artist who was equally poor before and how the patron overwhelmed him with worthy praises and rich prizes, with precious mementoes of his love and regard, bringing about thereby a

veritable metamorphosis, which is now seen and wondered by all. He then as a guide describes the way to the place of the lord, emphasising the variety of nature and human life, each getting its particular shape and colour from the other, all finally harmonised by the ever watchful rule of the patron, into a living peace and growing culture which seem to shine in every heart and every place. The Geographic Motif—both physical and human—vivified by the patron's true love of real art, is predominant in this kind of poetry. It starts thus with a contrast between the patronised art and the patronless art, between the poverty of the artist and the majesty of art, between wealth and poverty and ends in the disappearance of this contrast in the presence of the patron who thus restores harmony in the heart of the artist, even as he had everywhere else in his land, through which passed the artist, as though as on various rungs of the ladder of peace and communion.

Such poems as these were named after the particular artist concerned—The Bard, the Dancer, the Actor or the Poet. Such was the individuality of the art which no artist would willingly lose. Nakkīrar a poet himself but with a mystic vision, revolts as it were, from this egoism of art, and dissolves all arts into a greater art of harmony, where all activities and vibrations go to form a real orchestra. Nakkīrar adopts and adapts this very *art-motif* for expressing his vision. He guides us to God, the Absolute. All are equal before Him and there is nothing to differentiate amongst us as artists of life in the divine presence. This poem, therefore, cannot be named after any particular or general art. To differentiate his poem from others of its ilk, the poet calls it after its specific goal—God. This breaking away from the tradition, brings out clearly the universal point of view of our poet. God is named *Muruku* by the poet. This reminds us of the earliest known popular deity of Tamils. which a later generation has identified with Subrahmanya. Writing, as he does, in the Tamil country and in Tamil, this is but natural; but the implication of his description of God is indeed universal. The Ancient Dravidian God has been known as *Murukaṉ* in the masculine gender. Our poet however, uses the awstract form of that word, *Muruku*—without the masculine suffix reminding us there of the *It*.—The Absolute. This word *Muruku* means honey, beauty, fragrance, divine music, the magnetic

touch of youth and eternity, all combining to denote the divinity underneath all these pleasures. This name as signifying the eternal feast, to the eye of the colour and form, to the ear of the music of harmony, to the nose of the charming aroma, and to the body, of the magic touch, is appropriate enough, when the poet tries to turn the attention of the worldly hankering after pleasure, inward to the fundamental basis of all their varied goals—the Eternal Divine Bliss. The Bliss of Truth and Knowledge, arising from at-one-ment or submission to His will, as opposed to the ephemeral and illusory self delusions, in this world of ignorance, death and misery.

The poet, true to his *art-motif* begins with a contrast—the contrast inherent in the experience of the world as a partial—the natural duality of the world—light and darkness—eternal and blissful, inncent and loving beatuty, and mortal and miserable, sinful and avenging ugliness. First he starts with natural forces, passing on from there to the world of life. The rising sun on the blue sea, welcomed and praised by all, for instance after a pitch dark night when one has lost his way, in a dense forest on a steep mountain, is a symbol of the light of the Divine, however one may fret later on in his burning heat. Darkness is itself divine which supervenes when after the heat and summer, the winter clouds cover the very passage of the piercing sun and with a down-pour of fresh rain, and make the whole world cool after the heat, to smell sweet with new blooms and there we move blindly, in that darkness with life pulsating within and without, finding our way only with our hands. Even the beautiful colour of the flowers, blooming with happiness in the showers, and drawing us to themselves through their sweet fragrance, become invisible like God, in that darkness, but remain there only to be felt and enjoyed with an inner light. Lo! We touch the sphere like flowers! Aye! They are the flowers of His Garland. Divinity is thus revealed in this darkness.

The world of life blossoms on this mountain as the bliss of the care-free divine virgins of innocence, full of youth and beauty, each adorning the other in a spirit of self sacrifice and self dedication to service unto others as their prayer and worship and all of them dancing in unison with their song, praising the Lord, in a beauty spot on the mountain crest. As a contrast, comes the solo dance of the demoness—a mass of bone and living matter with a plateau-like belly, with sunken and

lifeless but ever whirling eyes, with owl-bedecked cavelike ears, with disordered teeth masticating the fatty flesh of the corpse, carrying a grinning skull from which she scoops out an eye to feast upon, she moves heavily along and dances frightfully on the battlefield of dead, to the clapping of her arms against her ribs, in the name of God. She dances in exultation over her success in clearing the dead and putrifying matter, from the battle-field where topsy-turvy egoism or evil was hewed down by the good God, so that the soul thus transformed, may live for ever, after this so called metamorphosis, as the very bedrock of divinity—the so called peacock of the Lord. Even as the atmosphere cleanses dead matter and makes further growth possible in very death, the demoness symbolises in a way, this kind service to God. The inevitable ugliness is but the deceiving first appearance of the principle of scavenging and surgery in this world. But for her, how can one live amidst corpses? Therefore, her praise of the Lord is sincere and divine.

In these descriptions themselves, the contradictions are resolved in the harmony of the Lord—an inevitable harmony of such contradictions, as to be welcomed and enjoyed—no more abhorred or feared.

The poet exclaims "If you are to reach this harmony of His feet, you have only to feel a love for it". "If it is everywhere, what more should one do". "Let your resistance cease." The poet assures us: "you achieve your purpose this very minute!"

True to his *art-motif*, he takes the man hankering after peace and harmony, from the crowded and busy Maturai, his native place, the proud city of invincible ramparts of war and rich markets of trade, to the serene and calm, cool and holy height of the mountain nearby, rising amidst humble rural surroundings. Here he suggests in a beautiful way, the pilgrim's progress, in his description of a bee hankering after honey, getting imprisoned in a small flower in the slushy field in the evening, but getting released at dawn, to fly up to the Divine Spring at the mountain top.

The poet moves south to Tirucentūr on the Tinnevelly coast. There he points as a guide to the form of *Muruka* with six faces rushing forward on an elephant to help his followers.

Here the poet secs in this, the *Visva Rūpa*, the whole universe deified and appearing as a beautiful youth. The meaningless mass of dead but powerful matter becomes in His presence a divine vehicle, full of adornment and joy, order and rhythm, bringing God Himself to us. God's face reminds us of the full moon and His ear-rings, of the stars. His crown is a harmony of all the geometrical shapes. The various activities or phases of the world, and these are six—the physical phenomena—the social life—the conventions and rule, the war—the family—and the path of divine knowledge—are but his varied faces. He is like a diamond with six facets. He has naturally twelve hands—two hands for expressive instruments of activity corresponding to each face. The Lord hurries to the needful with the flare of trumpets of the hollow bamboo of the mountains and the conches of the sky and with the resounding drum of the thunder.

From the South, the poet turns northwards and westwards to the Āy country of the Palaṉi Hills. Milton brings all the gods and goddesses of other faiths to Pandemonium as allies of Satan. Nakkīrar, however, brings the divine beings of his purāṇas to the Palani Hills, to the God as their eternal child for the release of the Creative Principle, till now imprisoned because of its self-adoring and self-conceited arrogance, intoxicated by the rhythm of its song but ignorant of its meaning, neglecting the innocence and beauty of the child where hovers divinity and where alone is unselfish and unbiased enjoyment of creative activity. They all go in a procession headed by the emaciated saints, and the loving couples of charming harp, their bodies and minds mellowed by music, along with the incarnations of the Principles of Destruction, powerful Protection and ambitious but Divine Rulership in the middle of the whole array of divine life, all these shining like stars, moving like the rushing wind, powerful like the fire with a tone and emphasis like ominous thunder. This procession, so full of colour, light and shade, so full of life and energy, so full of pomp and power, viewed from a proper perspective is worthy of a divine painter, though true to mystic poetry, brings to sharp focus the grandeur and glory of the puranas as seen and realised by our poet.

The poet moves westwards to the Western Ghats to Ērakam where he sees the Brahmins remaining celibate upto their 48th year, going to the temple in their pure wet cloth, straight from

their holy bath, to their worship, praying there to God with their hands clasped up above their heads, muttering Mantras of His name and carrying sweet scented flowers to Him.

From there almost near the western sea—the Arabian Sea—our poet takes us according to his principle of universalism—round the world seeing the vision of God on every mountain top of the whole world—every mountain rising as a veritable temple before his holy eyes. There arises everywhere the vision of the mountain lasses dancing to their drum and music, in a circle with the Lord taking as many forms as there are these girls and with each form standing in between every two of them, appearing thus everywhere they see, to their right and to their left, clasping every one of their hands and dancing with them all in that enchanted circle. This represents the dance of the souls beloved of the Lord each in the embrace of the lover, reminding us of the 'rasa lila' of Krishna and the Gopis.

The poet returns, after this vision seen all round the world, to Pa̲lamutir Cōlai—believed to be the modern A̲lakar Hills of Maturai, Man appears to the poet everywhere as feeling for the sublime, as overcome by a reverence for something beyond his knowledge and power, for which there is something in him yearning, and where his ego is lost in the overwhelming flood of love and light. power and glory, bliss and beauty. Therefore. there is true worship everywhere whether in the dark forest or the colourful garden in the flooding rivers or the stored up tanks, in the lovely islands in the river, in the crowded junction of roads or in the common meeting places in the open, in the trees or the posts.

Various kinds of worship—the Brahmin worship, the Puranic worship, the worship of the Visvarupa, the worship of mystic love and dance, the worship of the aspiring pilgrim—the worship in the sublime and beautiful spots of Nature, in places where men congregate, worship of any symbol, living or material,—have been hinted. In all these places one may not miss the real spirit; but worship takes many forms, sometimes the form of a blood-curdling devil dance of a mountain girl, revelling in the slaughter of a bull and its hot streaming blood, besmearing things in that blood, adorning the whole place with garlands of blood-like flowers, and with rising and whirling incense, burning redlike blood and beating the terrific gong; yet even there, there

is the loss of the Ego; conciousness—sleeps like feigning death—wakes up then and there into the eternal presence of the Lord as though "on the lap of the mother" with no more care or thought of this body or the world, all drowned with the soul in the surging waves of the infinite ocean of love. This worship from an unexpected quarter—perhaps primitive and barbaric to modern eyes—is one with the holiest of the holiest, in its destruction of the ego and its dance thereon. It is the inner feeling and not the social aspect that is emphasised, for, here society and world are non-existent in this trance of the mountain lass. The contrast between the outer horror and the inner calm is so much as to bring forth in this vision the poetic message of the mystic, of the harmony of all worships. Mystics seem to take pleasure in such out of the way, cruel, horrid and obscene things so as to make these the vehicles of their inexpressible message—a kind of a secret code, as it were; to be understood only by those who will not run away from this language. The mountain lass—a simpleton—brings back unto us God Himself; she is a Guide unto the Lord when she loses her ego in Him—on his eternal search for the loving souls—not a mere guide to the pilgrim in his progress. This is her *Murukāṟṟuppaṭai*—guiding God to us—a beautiful phrase which because of this depth, taking us to the climax of the poem, has become the very name of the poem. This interpretation is in keeping with the poetic spirit, though the interpretation given at the beginning of this essay may also be working in the mind of the poet.

Thus God is present everywhere. "Whenever and wherever this realisation occurs, bow down in humility" advises the poet "losing your ego and praise him as well as you can." Here comes a harmony of the puranas and folklore whose gods and goddesses are the Father and the Mother of this supreme ideal. The poet continues "The God of all forms—the Warrior, the Learned, the Wise, the Big, the Absolute, the Inner Moving Principle, the Great and the Lover, reveals himself to you the artist as Eternal Beauty and Love, Light and Youth and not in other Terrific Forms. He knows you had come. He showers his blessings then and there and makes you the Absolute, the One in the whole universe".

The poem closes with a description of the cataract rushing down from the top of the Aḻakar Hills—suggesting the onrush of Divine Grace—something like the seemingly mad pursuit of

the hound of heavens—in whose presence the souls, not well attuned to it, as beasts and birds, scream and flee away, even when it brings the very riches and feasts they hanker after. But the cataract ever keeps on rushing at them.

This is the poetic vision of the mystic saint, explaining the contradictions of the world and this life by taking them to their very source, where these are resolved into the eternal and rich hamony, where all puranas, all legnds, all gods and goddesses, all kinds of worship, and all activities become one symphony, where, if only we pine for it—our shrieks and laughters of life cease to be jarring notes but become the very melody of the Song Divine, from which swells forth—a flood of bliss, submerging us all, the seeming arc revealing itself in reality as an infinite circle of ever rushing cataract.

7. Kuyil Song[1]

Pārati-Cuppiramaṇiya Pārati to give his full name—is the National Poet of the Tamilians all the world over. He gave them the national songs which inspired them as their lode-star and the inner call, all through their war of Freedom. These songs still inspire them even after the declaration of Indian Independance with a liberated sense of economic, social, political and spiritual equality, here and elsewhere, so as to realise and fulfil as the Indian Nation, as its Tamilian off shoot, the promise of their national glory, throwing forth is reflection on the future of great ideals. He gave them in his poems their voice, their eye sight, their feelings, their consciousness and their hope and restored to them their very soul, all of which this ancient race of culture and civilisation had lost and forgotten in its torpor of subjection. He is their National poet in more senses than one. His message plumbs the depths of all the varied seas of human life, and this is the universal aspect of Hinduism—his religion or rather of all true religions—the spirit which becomes the rhythm of all human activities, their moving force and direction. This reveals the spiritual significance of his poetry; for he is a mystic in the best sense of that term.

Every poem of his reveals this bedrock from which he sings; but there are poems of his which proclaim themselves as Vedantic or Siddha songs. There is, however, a song of songs, which pretends to be a day dream, as some will take it, which is but in reality the crowning glory of his mystic experience, the epic song or the Odyssey of his voyage round the mystic universe, to the heaven of Divine Peace and Absolute Bliss. In this way, it is a poetic incarnation of the spirit of universalism with its ever expanding message to all kinds of human beings, from children to mystics all on the march to Divine Perfection.

One can mark four overlapping kinds or stages of poetry. There is first of all, reminding us of the lullaby of our infancy, the poetry which charms by its very music and rhythm, the words themselves, though sometimes present with varied repetitions and

1 Published in "Bharati Jayanti" Souvenir, December, 1958. Bharati Tamil Sangam, Calcutta.

ringing patterns, playing no part except perhaps as appealing to the unconscious and the super conscious, as in all nursery rhymes. In the second stage words and meanings, more and more become important to the conscious mind itself, though with their echoes and reverberations travelling through the subconscious, where the hypnotic charm of music and rhythm still persist but as the prop and echo of the sense. Here in this poetry, one gets a picture or a dramatic speech—in any case a vision of the physical beauty or the mental joy, full of depth, colour and feeling and there withal with an unknown width which is the other name for its universalism. This kind of poem is, as it were, the quintessence of poetry. It is poetry concentrated within its shortest dimensions, a focal point of life.

Third comes a poetry embodying the message and the vision of the poet, his criticism of life as a whole, in all its varied and variegated aspects, not as an abstract philosophy but as the living concrete incarnation of the message and vision, in a story or a drama. The story whether new or old, may not be in perfect accord with the message; for it is expressing the inexpressible. Even if it be in perfect accord, the message and vision may not grow and develop before our mental eye, as it did with all its significance in the heart of hearts of the poet. Therefore arises the fourth kind of poetry where the story of drama embodying the message and vision, story of his own life—the story of his message and vision seen as the universal story of life itself and of the spiritual progress of the travel in the wonderland of mysticism. Dante's epic and the poems of Nammāḻvar and Māṇikkavācakar are of this kind.

But in Nammāḻvār and Māṇikkavācakar, the separate verses have an individuality and significance of their own, as in the second and sometimes in the first kinds of poetry. They form, as it were, a series of still pictures, sometimes ten verses to a picture, each series, by its very swift momement as in the cinema creating before our minds eye a moving drama of the spirit.

Pārati's *Kuyil Pāṭṭu* is of this type. It is narrated by the poet himself as a dramatic monologue. It gains a unity demanding universal credence atleast as a poetic dream. The autobiographical form is not a literary trick but its voice of truth—the hall mark of the true experience of a sincere soul. The

narrative, however, as in keeping with the traditions of Tamil Poetry, is given in a series of dramatic speeches of the characters in this drama, with remarks interspersed to explain their context. The latter remind us of stage directions more elaborate than in any drama and truly more poetic than elsewhere—something like the descriptions in the Drama of Shakespeare, who had in his days no scenic arrangements worthy of that name. Is this not the way in which our poet's favourite, Iḷaṅko, writes his so called dramatic epic *Cilappatikāram* ?

The "Kuyil Song" consists of first the vision of the Kuyil in the mango grove in Pondicherry in the enchanted silence there, inspring love at first sight, which the poet feels and the bird expenses. The simultaneity of this occurrence of love is here broken up as the sequence in the world of time in which poetry moves. Next comes the Kuyil song *"par excellance"*, the musical chanting. The third is the experience of love by the Kuyil. When our curiosity has reached its zenith in the supernatural world, or as some may say, in a fairy tale, the kuyil disappears with its heartfelt request that the poet may come there on the fourth day.

Next follows the description of the change in the poet still in the power of the enchantment of the previous experience. He feels the eternal darkness enshrouds him. He is overpowered as though haunted by twenty ghosts all at once.

In the glorious light of the sun the trees glisten. He moves like a puppet drawn hither and thither by a thread, to the scene of the previous day, only to find the Kuyil making love to the Monkey and shamelessly praising it as a beauty incomparable to men and the Monkey responding to this love. The sword of the poet with a heart corroded by jealousy flashes forth to kill them; but the whole scene disappears.

In the next scene, the poet returns home unconscious. When he comes to his senses in the evening he has no strength left even to explain to his friends who are alarmed at his condition. He sleeps partaking of the milk and eatables offered by the mother.

The poet unable to bear the suffering of darkness sings of the glories of the rising sun. The scene of the previous day is repeated when the poet moves to the mango grove. This time

the Kuyil is making love to the Bull. The poet bursts into an exclamation to the creator on the wonders of music. The vision disappears as soon as the sword from the hands of the jealous poet flashes forth aiming at the Bull.

The story becomes very intriguing and mysterious. Our curiosity is also kindled. Suspense reaches almost the breaking point. The poet is as much a master of this art of suspense as the artists of the silver screen, who drop the scene just at the moment when mystery thickens.

The fourth day dawns and the poet is slowly dragged on by a speek of darkness which becomes in time the Kuyil, to the old grove. He meets the Kuyil and charges her with falsehood which he had himself seen. The mystery is still further heightened by the desperate cry of the Kuyil reaching its perfection in her absolute self-surrender to Fate leaving it to either burn her away if discarded by the poet, or marry her to the poet if he accepts her.

What follows is a continuation of the same scene but a narration of the story of the Kuyil's previous birth as given out by the sage of Potikai. She is the daughter of Murukaṉ, the hunter of the mountains. She, out of pity, consents to marry her materual uncle's son Māṭaṉ (Bull), but the parents agree to give her away in marriage to the Kuraṅkaṉ (Monkey) a son of Puliyaṉ (Tiger) of wealth and heroism. But she goes to a grove and the Cērā Prince sees her there. They love each other and lie in sweet embrace with eyes closed in love. Kuraṅkaṉ goes there hearing of her departure and Māṭaṉ pursues him n hot haste. These two burn with rage at the sight of the lovers in embrace and their swords pierce through the back of the prince. The Prince turns and fells them down, but himself collapses, hopeful of meeting his beloved in the next birth.

Another chapter, as it were opens, when the sage prophesies her meeting her lover growing up in Toṇṭai land. The Kuyil naturally asks him how a bird can marry a human being. The sage reveals to her that she is herself a lady born in the Vindhyas and transformed into a bird by ghosts of the Bull and the Monkey who had somehow met her and who were even then anxious to avoid her embracing once again the prince of her

heart. The sage foretells that the ghosts will be creating an illusion as though she as Kuyil were making love to the Bull and the Monkey when the prince will accuse her of falsehood and pretension when she meets him.

The sage does not conclude the story. He says that she will herself know how the whole story will end. Once again we are kept in suspense.

In the last part of the dream the poet's heart is moved and he realises that the scenes of the previous two days were illusions. The Kuyil falls into his palm and the poet is about to kiss her when the bird disappears and a beautiful damsel stands before him, but only to vanish away.

In the epilogue the poet wakes up in the work-a-day world of his and realises he is only in his own house; the old book, the pen, bundle of news papers and the old mat are all in their usual order.

Here is a glimpse of the poet's house through just a few fugitive flashes, but revealing in its classic restraint his home, as no rank realistic poet would. The poverty of the old mat coming like the poison and sting at the very end of the scorpian's tail, is so poignant in its very nakedness of assertion, yet so oblivious is the poet of its earthly significance except as his old companion his mother's lap, as it were sending him to rest and to sleep, the very symbol of the Mother Nature with her alternating rhythm of spreading out evolution and the rolling up involution. There are the remaining three—first, the book of old poetry, a perennial fountain in which he gets lost only to gain his new inspiration, and which though as fresh as the morning breeze yet is grown old in his hands by constant use; second his pen which reduces the elaboration of this inspiration to the choicest words of sweet poetry; third, the news papers, in which these poems appearing in print, go as far as his message to the world and which bring him back news of all the men and women of the world, to alter the ego of his own, Absolute self, enjoying the well earned rest perhaps like himself in the isolation of their soul, in the perfect equality of the really democratic world of sleep.

Or, it may be the old books represent the perennial fountain of Truth, Beauty and Goodness, so full of the foot prints

(Kālaṭi-Cuvaṭi) of the Great, all around it, the pen, the ever-moving creative activity, the upright sceptre of poetry, contrast with the bundled up heap of dusty newspapers, the evesdropping and scandal-mongering vulgarity, and the rolled up old mat the opiate passivity of modern leisure, spreading out its vacuity almost mechanically and so soon growing old, tired and discontented in its eternal itching for the new and the strange.

Whatever these four compound words may mean, the poet literally wakes up into this world of ours. Even in his erstwhile dream he saw the world appearing as the illusion created by the king of magicians. If so which is the dream world and which is the waking world? Aldous Huxley speaks of what appears to be supernatural experience of the poet and seer as that of the antipodes of our waking mind and of our world. Gita speaks of the seers waking up in the new world of theirs, while sleeping and perhaps dreaming in this old world of the ordinary waking consciousness, and the ordinary people sleeping in that new world, whilst waking up all active in this old world. The author has evidently this in mind, he who had given us one of the best translations of Gita in Tamil. Where does our poet sleep and where does he wake up? This is no longer a mystery. Every thing in this work-a-day world is seen by him as old poetry, inspiring new verses carrying the messages of love to a world at large, to make it all rest and sleep here, and wake up elsewhere. The old mat coming at the very end characterises this world in the suggestive way of our poet, as the place of sleep. He dreams and wakes up elsewhere.

It is however pointed out that the poet himself labels this poem as a day dream. In the prologue, if one may call as such the opening lines of the poem, he sings, "I saw in that colossus of a dream, occurrence where the intoxication of poetry overpowers the bard, drowning in broad day light all consciousness."

This dream is differentiated from other spiritual experiences as the colossus of a dream, taller than others, peeping over their head. This dream is really *samādhi*, the long and eternal dream which supervenes the ordinary waking consciousness. Aldous Huxley writes "For most of us, most of the time, the world of every day experience seems rather dim and drab. But for few people often, and for a fair number, occasionally,

some of the brightness of the visionary experience spills over, as it were into common seeing and the every day universe is transfigured." It is this transfiguration which is referred to as the colossus of the dream. Therefore one is justified in taking this poem as a Journey to the antopodes of the waking consciousness and as the spiritual experience of the mystic.

The poem thus closes with an appeal to the Vedantins for a mystic interpretation and starts equally with a reference to the Vedas if not to Vedantins. The Vedas here are not used in any sectarian sense but in the sense of a universal book of Truth. In the middle of the song comes the story of creation or evolution as told in the Vedas or Upanishads, especially that version which found favour with Āḻvārs and Nāyaṉmārs. The alpha and omega of the poem are thus in unison with each other and with what comes in between them; they are in perfect accord with our suggestion.

The story begins with the glorious light of the sun. 'Jōti' is a word the poet is fond of. It reminds us of the Parañjōti, "Every thing seen by those who visit the mind's antipodes is brilliantly illuminated and seems to shine from within. Its colour shines forth with a brilliance which seems to us preternatural, because it is in fact entirely natural in the sense of being entirely unsophisticated by language or the scientific, philosophical and utilitarian notions, by means of which we ordinarily recreate the given world in our own dreary human image. The very beginning seems thus to suggest the mystic world.

To the poet, the sea of the Tamilian shore of Pondicherry chants the Vedas once again reminding us of the spiritual context of the poem. In that sunlight, near the beach shines a mango-grove, usually the haunt of those who shoot the birds, though fortunately on this day no hunter has come. The poet enters and then comes the Kuyil, whilst the other birds disappear all of a sudden.

The mango grove is also significant. It is the usual resort of the Kuyil. But there is something more as well. The Samsara or the work-a-day world is spoken of as the big tree, Asvatta, unique as being topsy turvey, a graphic description of the antipodes of the spiritual world. Nakkīrar in referring to the Evil Force opposing the Absolute (Muruka) and standing as a mango tree in the midst of the ocean describes similarly this

mango tree as full of the topsy turvy flowers. This is the suggestion of the mango tree in this poem.

What does this bird signify? The Nightingale to Keats and Shelly was the harbinger of peace from the beyond. Poet Vālmiki is often spoken of as a Kuyil. Vaisnavite tradition looks upon the ñani and the Guru as the bird blessed with two wings, the true knowledge of supreme Bhakti and the great action of sincere service, flying as the messenger of God and interceding on behalf of Man. The Puranas speak of the Swan proclaiming the mystic truth. The Upanishads speak of the Soul and the Super soul as two birds inhabiting the same tree, one active and the other passive. The bird is therefore something spiritual. In our poem it represents the Absolute as the personal God and Lover.

The Kuyil is black, the absence of all colour, the pure Nādā. The Peacock of the expanding tail of variegated colour is the revolving universe and when evolution stops and everything shrinks into the Nādā, the Peacock becomes the Kuyil, so sings Ramaliṅka.

Kuyil is black like Kāḷi and Krishna, the favourites of the Poet; and darkness here represents their magic and mystery. This bird is described as the Nīli, the blue, though there is a pun on this word in the particular context where it is taken for a pretender. Often the poet refers to it as *Vintai*; *Vintai* is the miraculous ; it also means Kāḷi, Lakshmi and Pārvati—in short the Sakti, the Divine. The Absolute, like fire, hot and bright has two aspects, the aspect of Absolute Knowledge and the aspect of Love and Grace. The former is Parasiva or the Beyond, the latter is Sakti, the Grace, the power of intercession. On the purified soul ascending upwards the spiritual Himalayas, the Grace descends. This is Saktinipatam. It is the personal aspect of the Absolute, so dear to the devotee. Its relationship to the beyond or Siva is described, as by Māṇikkavācakar, in many different ways as the daughter, the sister, the mother and the wife. Here also the Kuyil is described as the daughter of Murukaṉ, as the lady of the Vindhya hills (Durga is the Goddess of Vindhya) and as the beloved of Kumaraṉ. These logical contradictions become the harmony of poetry in its twilight of varying colours through their rich suggestion.

The poet is masculine and the Kuyil is feminine. The natural affinity of Paramātmaṉ to soul, develops into a story of Love, giving rise to the mystic language of erotic poetry. Mystics all the world over sing of the divine marriage—sometimes of clandestine Love. "The experience of the sexual union partakes of that essential otherness of the beyond." The *rasa-līla* of Krishna, or the Āycciyar-Kuravai, is the communion of souls and the Absolute. Āḻvārs and Nāyaṉmārs speak even as passionate women would of their beloved Lord.

But here is something unique. The super soul is Puruśottama, the Man of Supreme Excellence, and the souls are the women in love with him. Here in this poem, on the other hand the super soul, the personal God, the absolute beauty, the absolute love, is the SHE and the soul the poet, the worshipper is the He. This again is not against tradition. Tirukkōvaiyār of Māṇikkavācakar giving the story of the Divine but clandestine love blossoming into married love, idealises and deifies this love, and here the hero is the active soul going in search of his beloved, the Absolute, beyond all activities. Thus is explained in the esoteric significance of this love-song.

Our poet is a worshipper of Sakti, though not belonging to the cult of Saktās. In that cult there is the Vīra-Worship where the devotee worships the Absolute as the damsel of his love. Coming to the very poems of our author in "*Kaṇṇaṉ Pāṭṭu*" he has sung of Krishna, as his heroine, as his beloved. Sex has nothing physical about it in this mystic language. The Absolute is all sorts of relationship and there need arise no shock at this poetic characterisation as the lady love, once the physical and sexual ideas are divorced from our mind.

In the best traditions of the Tamil country, the woman does not herself express her desire for clandestine love however passionate she may be. But revolutionary poets like Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār in their Metal have explored this tradition. "Did not Vasantasena go in search of her lord Udayana" the Āḻvār asks. Our poet comes in the best tradition of these revolutionaries. One may point out that Āḻvār's soul as the Beloved of the Lord, goes in search of her heart's ideal, unable to bear the separation. In our poet's song the Absolute goes in search of the Soul. Is this not topsy turvy? Not at all, after Ramanuja had explained his experience of the theory of Lord's Grace. The king loses his

costly ring; whose is the loss? Is it that of the king or that of the ring? There can be no two opinions about this loss being that of the king. The king is the Absolute and its precious wealth and love is the soul; and no wonder the Kuyil comes in search of the lost soul, its Beloved.

As soon as the Kuyil is sighted, there is silence and all the birds and noises disappear. Does this not suggest the mysterious isolation and peace of the *Samādhi*, the absolute calm of the Divine communion? "The taste of ambrosia appearing as it were as a flash of lightning, mixes up with the very air and spreads sweet and soft." Love at first is inspired in the heart of the poet, a love which according to the Tamilian tradition is as old as creation.

The Kuyil sings the enchanting musical song.

"Love, Love, Love
If Love departs, if Love departs
Death, Death, Death."

Our interpretation of the whole poem depends on the true significance of this word Love. The Tamil sage Tirumūlar identifies Love with Siva or the Absolute. Here comes the interminable repetition of the song; the chanting of the mantra like the endless pslam singing, is as powerful as other Yoga practices in inducing the mystic experience. But the varied chantings are important as revealing the inner view and the hidden secret of this magical word of charm-Love; Love is the good light of Grace and if it slips it is but darkness; if it trips down, it is misery. It is Nādā, sound, but if it fails it is destruction. It is Tāḷā (keeping time in music), if it misses, it is all rubbish. It is tune; if it is out of tune it is dust. It is glory and fame; or else degradation and scandal. It is firmness; if it gives way, it is the very end. It is the union but if the Belived departs it is a fading away. It is the pipe, the basic tune of the whole orchestra of the universe, but if it sereeches it is all a fall. One can with these flash like suggestions portray the Absolute or the personal Sakti as the basic harmony, the bliss, the tune, the light, and the rhythm of all. The Upanishads speak of the travel towards this goal as a journey through the bridge of a tiny hair, scanning the vast river of Fire. One travels to the goal or falls into this Hell-fire.

"A silence springs up in that intoxicated Bliss, embracing sorrow." This remark reminds us of the sublime beauty of all great poetry, only appearing thus when it rises to the majestic heights of tragedy. The silence is mystic. "To be busy is the law of our being. The law of the superconscious is to do nothing." That accounts for the overwhelming, the more than merely aesthetic impression made up on the beholder of the great static masterpieces of religious art like the "*Buddha in Dhyana.*"

The Kuyil and the poet become one in feeling. The feeling of love which the poet experiences is given expression to by the Kuyil, in a tone coloured by a pang and bashfulness.

The poet is reminded of the variegated music of the spheres, a veritable orchestra, if we may say so, resounding all the world over in all its parts. This becomes the very tune of the Bl:ss-ful, where nothing else is known.

Here is the way of Music leading to salvation. The worship of Nada Brahman, placing music higher than poetry, shows his Abt Vogler blessed with the vision through his music, Ñāṉa-campantar born in a world where the Jain ascetics condemned music as the inspirer of lowly passions, gave to the world in his musical composition, the message that the seers, washing out their bodily passions and turbulent feelings with the sweet flow of seven tunes of Music realise and become one with the light of the Absolute shining ever on the pure Lotus of their hearts. The other saints of Tamil land believed in this philosophy and achieved their communion with God and became one with him in the rapture of their music. The great exponent of this path of Music was Thyagaraja of Tiruvārūr in Tamil land, who in one of his Kirtanas, exclaims to *Rama* "Can there be salvation except through Music ?" This is the great *Pāṭal Neṟi* 'the path of song'.

This path of Music is one aspect of the path of Aesthetics—the worship of Beauty. The Tamilians have described the Absolute as *Cokku* (beauty), *Cuntaraṉ*, *Aḻakaṉ* and *Murukaṉ*, the eternal Beauty captivating the five senses, the mind and the soul. Ramayana realising the truth of this message of the Tamil saints has explained how Beauty is the purest incarnation of the Absolute, easily captivating our heart and transporting us to its divine

heights. It is the path of Love; for Beauty kindles Love. If Beatrice took Dante to Heaven, the Kuyil here does nothing less.

The parting is ever painful. The world comes back with the chirping of the birds all round—"The path of love is cruel and wild. O thou of God-lit eyes. Thou hast come as a raft, good and strong, for this ocean of sorrow". The bird in this parting song begs the poet to come on the fourth day.

Why the fourth day? The fourth is the Turiyam or the Caturttam; the fourth stage beyond the three known to us all, the waking, the dreaming and the sleeping stages. The communion with the Absolute comes as the fourth. The first occurrence already narrated belongs to the waking world into which has spilled out a good deal from the Beyond. The Second day's occurrence is that of the Dream where the monkey of a mind plays its pranks with even the obstacle of a work-a-day world disappearing. The mind with the reflection of the Absolute therein is the dance of the Jīva or the Lower self.

The events of the third day belong to the sleeping world with its dance of Matter, the mere bulk and inertia—The glories of the Bull are but the symbol of the body and its lower instincts, all but an inert dim light of the self-delighted ego, oblivious of everything else. "The Matter shrinks ; the *Jīva* shrinks ; then dawns the light of Siva" sings Aruṇakiri. On the fourth day occurs the real communion.

The bird disappears. The eternal darkness seems to enshroud him; he feels as though haunted by twenty ghosts. The mention of the ghosts is significant.

After its glorious experience for the first time, when it has not yet become familiar and habitual, its hold seems to be slipping away. The old attachments and the old habits give the lie direct to this new vision. These have to be dissolved. In this stage when the mind has had a glimpse of its antipodes, the old passions and the tumultuous feelings especially anger and fear, take the form of Hell and Purgatory and become the indwelling Horror infinite, all powerful and eternal. "Blissful visions are generally associated with a sense of separation from the body, a feeling of di-individualisation."

"When the visionary experience is terrible and the world is transifigured for the worse, the individual's action is intensified and the negative visionary finds himself associated with a body that seems to grow more dense. The various accounts of Hell describe the punishment of pressure and constriction." Through this experience, the soul is purged of its old dross and becomes the purest gold. The world is there but as an illusion created by a magician. The poet moves like a puppet. Is the Kuyil the Nīli ? (There is pun on the word Nīli, a pretender, the illusion or the divine enchantress) The day dawns and in the light of the sun, the trees glisten. The poet thinks of the *Vintaicciṟu kuyil* 'the tiny miraculous cuckoo'. Krishna the absolute becomes smaller and smaller to be tethered by his devotees to a stone with torn shreds of threads joined together in many knots. That is the greatness of the Absolute as the personal God, being so anxious to get into our clutches.

This bird is not there in that old tree. Jealousy, the green eyed monster of this Hell, works in the heart of the Poet. The Poet moved by the heart-rending sight of the Kuyil making love to the Monkey, curses it and breaks out into an exclamation to all. He knows not, but we know, it is all an illusion engineered by the ghosts. His first impulse is to kill but meanness sends him eavesdropping. The lover, the loved and the love, all the trinity is in its origin a unity—the illusion of the Monkey, the ghost, and naturally it is the song in praise of the Monkey. It is a subtle satire on Man without its humour.

"What is men's greatness except their social, political and religious organisations, but what are they, not socially, but as individuals? What is man compared to the monkey? Are his many artificial robes any near the natural silk of hair of the monkey? Men's whiskers and beards and creations of the tailors' art are but a vulgar imitation of the monkey and yet a miserable failure. Can men jump and frisk inspite of the dance of their crowd; they know not to scale the tallest towers except with the ladder. But even so can they leap? Where are they to go for a tail—the God given tail. Where is for them the greatness of Saivite food and that clever look. Ah! that royal grandeur of the curved form of the monkeys and more than that, their words."

The mean Kuyil in its tone full of the taste of the fire, bubbling up with passion sang with nectar, swelling forth. "What

wonderful effect has this music of universal appeal? The famished monkey intoxicated with toddy, leaps and jumps and claps its hands, keeping time, twistes its eye balls, scratches the earth with its hands and legs and throws it all up and cries:—"I shall kiss you and be happy." The Poet's sword flashes forth. The scene disappears. The sword represents here the real knowledge which disperses all illusions and delusions.

The Poet returns home astounded and feels unconscious. When the evening comes, he gets back to consciousness and the friends who are alarmed at his condition throng round him, but it is impossible even to explain it. The mother offers milk and eatables. The misery of jealousy squeezes down his chest. Here again this reminds us of the punishments of Hell. Words run out and trip down to collapse to pieces. Events crowd in his mind. 'Alas' cries the poet, "I know not the technique of the skilful story tellers, spinning longer and even longer stories with imagery and description, stopping in the very midd le of their fatal story, whilst their intellect runs in hot haste behind some intervening talk."

"Darkness and Light" the caption of the next part reminds us of the truth of Aldous Huxley's statement: "The transporting power of flame (or light) increases in proportion to the depth and extent of the surrounding darkness."

"My mind is ashamed of continuing the story further. In contrast may I sing the beauty of the morning Sun." Thus the old soul habituated to darkness, gets detached. Here is a spiritual evolution of the soul. Here follows one of the most beautiful passage of poetry, a transfiguration of the everyday world such as the one happening in moments of inspiration, revealing glimpses of the Beyond. One author writes "Unconsciously I looked at a film of sand when I suddenly saw the exquisite beauty of every little grain; instead of being dull I saw that each particle was made up on a perfect geometrical pattern with sharp angles, from each of which a brilliant shaft of light was reflected, while each tiny crystal shone like a rainbow. The rays crossed and recrossed making exquisite patterns of such beauty that they left me breathless. Then suddenly my consciousness was lighted up from when I saw in a vivid way how the whole universe was made up of particles of material, which, no matter how dull and lifeless they might seem were nevertheless filled with this intense and vital beauty. For a second or two

the whole world appeared as bliss and glory." Something like this on a higher scale, happens to our Poet. It is not sand but the Sun, the Parañjōti that that appears in all its splendour to our Poet.

"Is this the loving gesture full of significance?—His melted gold with its fire reduced but all transformed to honey and spread out every where."

The light steals to the Heavenly expanse. Can those who chant, praise the miracle of this whole metamorphosis into light? Can any find atleast one simile? The eye, they say is blissful. But is not this eye of eyes, which scans the whole sky, the Supreme Bliss? The Great, who contemplate in eternal silence, on that Absolute Root Principle, assert that it is an ever expanding light. If so, can there be a comparison in this world unto this Good Light? I opened my eyes in the morning and worshipped this light, working miracles by inspiring the grass to smile, transforming the flowers into a wonder, clearing the land of fog, making the waters beam with a blooming joy, and emptying the sky itself to become this vacant expanse of great space. I saw the world moving in the blissful joy whilst on all four sides heaved out the sounds of life".

As on the previous day the poet wends his way, unconsciously to the grove. Once again there is silence. "The Bull listened with all desire and with deeper intelligence to the story of the Kuyil." The impulse to kill is resisted by the usurping curiosity to know and to eaves-drop. The praise of the Bull is again the speech of the ghost of a Bull creating the whole of this illusion. It is another satire on Man. But there is naturally here the Indian love of the Bull.

"You are the magnet unto the iron heart of woman occupied by Love. Oh, The Divine Form revealing as Bull, men speak of their sturdy youths as the Bulls. You are the weightiest among Bulls (The reference to weight and inertness suggest that the bull stands for matter). The long face, the majestic horns, the Divine form spreading like a bundle of cotton, the excessive load on the back, the heroic tail, the thunderlike roaring sound of *Mā*, the graceful twist of the curling up tail beating away the mean flies if ever they were to hop on your back—these many a time had bewitched me." Then follows self condemnation of the Kuyil; for the ghost of the Bull reveals here its

hatred of the Kuyil. But can any one prevent the passions flowing up from the mind of the mean. Cupid knows no caste. In feeding the giantly ghosts of men (what terror is in the mind of this ghost) or in transporting the hunch backs to their village, you help them as God. There after when you rest fatigued, I shall come and sing sweet music in your ears. I shall be pleased with all my heart when whipped by your tail. (what *masochism*?) I shall shreak in unison with the great sound of your bellowing noise. I shall kill the parasites without their ever coming on your form. After roaming round the jungle pastures, and grazing in all the fields when you chew the cud after you had your fill I shall sit by your side and narrate many a story. Women do not speak out their love; mine is a strange love never heard of here-to-fore. All that bashfulness of women in love with their equals, the man in their passion never can show'. Do not the slaves represent their grievance to their Lords? Love knows no shame.

It will be seen that the Bull is not here the emblem of purity nor the symbol of Dharma nor is it spiritual Vak. It is not even the representation of the activity. The heroic charge of the bull, against those who try to catch its horns and the majestic curl of the neck and the raised up majesty of its tail are not even hintedat. It is here nothing more than the dumb and mechanical puller of the plough and vehicle. The idle chewing of the cud and the lazy frisk of the tail against the mean flies suggest a mere mechanical movement. The weight and inertia of matter are suggested by the gluttonous swelling form expanding like a load of cotton, though helpful in a way to others as all matter is.

The Kuyil sings the famous song. The poet's soul has reached a higher stage of perfection. Jealousy is not dead but it no longer submerges the personality of the Soul. The Poet does lose his spiritual balance. The Poet breaks into an exclamation to the creator on his creation and the most wonderful of it all the miraculous music. "The Upanishad story of evolution is narrated by the poet in his own way. He created water. The land rolled into form. The water cooled the ancient fire. The air blew. The invisible expanse of the sky came into existence: The many crores of round wheel-like universes of huge and geomertical shapes, absolutely beyond the reach of the mind, filling up the sky and ever runn-

ing, with inserted power to keep them ever moving, the time, the directions which cannot be crossed, and innumerable lives appearing and disappearing, in innumerable connected chains—What a great achievement! Who can praise your skill, O Creator! But of all these wonders, the creation of the nectar of music is the greatest miracle. The elements harmonise to create ever new wonders. But is this equal to the harmony of the commingling tunes."

The power of music chastens the soul of the poet. But once it stops, he comes back to his old waking consciousness. The sword—the unconscious flash of Ñana—flashes forth and the illusion disappears. He comes back home and thinks and thinks. But alas, nothing is clear. He sleeps heavily.

On the fourth day, a black speck is seen on the sky. It comes near and leads him on to the Mango-grove, "stopping if he stops and moving if he moves". It sings its usual song of Love. The poet accuses the Kuyil of its falsity to him and of its clandestine love for the Monkey and the Bull. His heart cries for murder; but soon it melts. This is indeed an evolved soul; for it can be said of only the truly great that their passions, as Kuṟaḷ has it, even of they arise, disappear in the twinking of an eye. "With heart turned to iron and false tears flowing down the eyes, the Kuyil," so it appears to the Poet, speaks, 'You state I played with the Bull and the Monkey; what shall I do? There is no way of contradicting you. And yet no fault is mine. But who will believe me,' and she surrenders completely to Fate 'O cruel Fate! I throw all the burden on you, whether you make him embrace me, accepting me, or whether discarded by him I fall into the fire. I am prepared for everything'.

Then she turns to the Poet to narrate the story of the previous birth. This part, the concluding portion as the author had considered is the real story. The author has played till now the trick of the modern and western authors, so very carefully jumping into the very middle of the story and following its mysterious glamour till nothing more can be done except looking back for the neglected beginning for clearing up the mystery. Here begins the art of the age long eastern poet to begin from the very beginning. The story reaches the serene heights of the old Puranas, describing the spiritual evolution which starts when

the evolution and creation of Brahma already narrated cease. The story of the Descent of the Absolute, its *avatārs* or incarnations finally coming in the form of man, is indeed the glorious secret of the Puranas. The Vaishnavites will add that when these Avatārs failed to attract men and save them, started the much more successful Avatārs of the Seer Poets—the Āḻvārs. With these in mind, the story of the concluding part may be looked upon as a Purana.

As the Puranas of old, this also is told by a Seer and Sage —the Sage of Potikai—the abode of the saint of Tamil Agastiya. Perhaps it is Agastya that narrates this Purana, though in the twilight of Poetry full of fruitful suggestions, the author makes no such direct statements. Again the story belongs to the southern Cēra Country and it is the story of the Cēra Prince. Is it Ilaṅkō, the Cēra Prince, the author of *Cilappatikāram* that is referred to? Is the Poet living in Pondicherry, his incarnation? Perhaps it is so, revealing the high poetic mission for which the Poet ordained himself.

The Kuyil is born amongst the hunters. The lines are capable of being interpreted as referring to its birth as an incarnation, coming in to live in their midst and to be called as the daughter of the mountain folk even as Pārvati came to be called the daughter of the Mountain.

The reference to the hunter's family where the princess lives as though born there, reminds us of the Brihadāraṇyaka, narrating the parable of the prince stolen away by the hunters from the palace, growing in their midst, identifying himself with them and believing himself to be one of them, oblivious of his real royalty, till the king, his father, finds him after a long time and after failing to convince him of his real status makes him see his own reflection in the water and compare that with the kings. 'Civañāṉa Pōtam' speaks of the soul growing up in complete accord and indentifying itself amidst the hunters of our five senses. But here, the Absolute it is that is born again, like Krishna and Pārvati. The Omnpresent Absolute shines in and through everything, as the Truth and Beauty and Bliss, behind those hunting sensations as the very *Murukā* to go the way of the misleading senses and to catch us unawares, to bewitch us with its beauty and to become one with us.

Though a bird 'I am supreme in my perfect knowledge of the speeches', says the Kuyil but the Rishi assures her that she was born a woman. Thus begins the narration, once again kindling our curiosity. She was great as the incomparable, youthful beauty of the three fold Tamil land. Māṭaṉ (Bull) of marriageable relation, ever thinking of her and pining for her, brings to her his daily offerings of Love, the bright flowers and fresh honey for a long time. Out of pity for his suffering, she consents to marry him. The fame of her beauty spreads everywhere. The Lord of Wealth and Heroism—the king of the hunters of the Mountain of Honey, the Tiger, grown old and bald headed, the symbol of valiant activity, asks for her hand in marriage for his son, the colossus of a Monkey—the symbol of mental evolution thought still not devoid of bestiality. The father of the princess, is over-joyed, perhaps because of this high level marriage of state craft. The Bull-man becomes angry; but once again not out of Love but out of mercy, she pacifies him, promising to come away with him in three months, handing over the *Tāli* (thread denotiug matrimony) to the Monkey-man. Perhaps love means nothing more to them; it is not the inseparable communion of souls in perfect indentity.

Then comes hunting the Cēra Prince to the very forest where she goes with her companions and plays in joy, like creepers of lightning. The companions run away in fear; she meets him all alone. She sees and he sees, and in that sight both their souls become one. The Prince confesses his Love and she protests "You are a king, you may have five hundred damsels in your palace living with you in love. I am but a mountain lass. Does valorous hero of a lion love and marry the hare hiding in the hole? Do the conquering Kings seek their brides amidst hunters? We live as the very form of chastity, never as the concubines living for a price." The prince realises her intense love in her eyes. His kiss comes in a flash reddening her cheek. She shows her resentment and moves aside. Where is the right path for those blinded in love? He flies to her and clasps her in embrace. "Is there any other woman for me except you? Oh gold! Oh shining gem! Oh the nectar fresh and sweet! O bliss! you alone are my wife. You alone are my queen; you alone are my prop; you, my Deity; can I think of any other woman? I shall marry you according to the Vedic path"—so he promises. The joy overpowers her as the great sway of the ocean. Modesty is set aside; so is consciousness. In that

dream of bliss unsatiable to the eye, she embraces the strong shoulders of the prince. Her heart pines for embracing him in joy, and drinking the honey of his lips. Like the bee swarming and falling into the honey, like the iron falling into the miraculous magnet, the son of the king embraces her passionately, tasting the drink of her ruddy, fruit like lips.

The colossus of a Monkey, having heard of her going to the dance in the forest, wends his way thither, only just to see their embrace. "In open day light look at the act of this wretch. The marriage is not yet over; she has dashed to dust all hopes and destroyed my honour. The betrothal has finally been celebrated and yet see the double dealing of the vile creature" The Bull follows the Monkey in hot pursuit. The Monkeyman does not see him nor does the Bullman at any time see the Monkeyman standing there like a tall tree. Both of them only see her in the embrace of the stranger. They know nothing else. The Bull sees that and so does the other. The Bull becomes mad and so does the other. The son of the king and the virgin there in that heavenly bliss never open their eyes. In the bliss of that enjoyment of the souls in communion, the eyes that drop and close are four. The eyes are also four that emit flame sparks because of their soul catching fire at the very sight of these eyes, closed in love. The Bull unsheathes his sword and comes running to him; the Monkey comes holding aloft the sword. On the back of the prince fall two blows. Quickly the prince turns round, unsheathes his sword and in two flashes fells them down. They fall down, lose their speech and lie dead.

The prince exhausted, falls to the ground. She with deep sorrow gathers him up. Her prince opens his eyes and speaks "Damsel dear, I shall not live. In a few seconds I shall pass away. There is no use of weeping. There is no misery in death. We shall yet be born in the world. I will meet and love you; I will live with you in happy union. There is yet birth as, Oh Soverign of Women, there is yet bliss. In the birth that comes I shall live with you". So saying he closes his eyes, with a blissful smile lighting up his face.

Because of the magical witchery effected by the Bull, the damsel gets the miserable shape of a bird. The Prince born as a man is growing up in the rich land of Toṇṭai in the city on

the sea shore. He will see her in a grove; he will listen to the song which she will sing with heartfelt love. Because of the old bondage and attachment again he will love her" says the sage.

"Oh Sage I am in the form of a Kuyil. My prince is in the form of man. Even if love occurs, marriage is impossible. If so, will not the words of the prince turn false?' asks the bird. The sage replies smiling "Alas! you simpleton, even in this birth you were born a girl to a hunter in the Vindhyas. The Bull and the Monkey whilst roaming as ghosts in the forest, because of their fate, recognised you. Suspecting you, as of old that you would marry the prince in this birth, they conspired together and transformed you into a Kuyil, and they roam with you. Have you not known this?".

"Ah Fate" cries the bird. "Is this justice that the dead should make the living miserable"? If these ghosts make a fool of me, and if out of their burning rage they perpetrate any evils when I meet my lover, what shall I do? Is there no way out?" When she asked thus perplexed, the reassuring Sage answers, "Oh thou damsel of a Kuyil, in a grove in Tontai country, when the prince, at your first sight, will lose his heart to your song, becoming passionately attached to you, the two ghosts will throw forth treacherous visual illusions and inspire doubt in him. Then and there he in confusion, taking you for a great traitor will decide to desert you. You will then see how all these develop thereafter". The sage vanishes into the air, pleading that it was time for ablutions.

Thus the bird addresses the Poet: "Oh my beloved! Not a syllable has been changed—I have repeated his own words in the same way the sage had uttered. Alas! I do not know how your divine mind receives this. Bless me with your love or bless me with death, killing me with your own hands".

"Thus saying the Kuyil fell into my hand. Even the ghosts pity a woman, don't they? If ghosts, heartless, create delusions, is Man to take them in? If women express love, any heart moves and melts, even here is any one otherwise? Holding the precious Kuyil in my hand in front of me I scanned it well and with ever flaring up intoxication of love, I was about to kiss it. The Kuyil was nowhere to be seen.

"Hark! What an inexplicable and unexpressable miracle! The very ambrosia of the ocean of love! The land of wonder! Woman is the divine sight! A damsel was standing there and without taking her eyes away, she looked straight at me all for a split second. She stooped down. Oh Lord! How to describe her beauty? Shall I speak of these two eyes, swallowing away man? Can all that poetry floating in her eyes be caught in words?'

"Enlivening that juice squeezed out of the fruit of poetry, with the essence of music and dance, adding the sweet ambrosia, and drying it up all in the sunshine of love, the creator with these shaped her form." "At this sight of the damsel I became so greatly and fully intoxicated with joy, that then and there, I embraced her. I kissed and kissed the sweet smelling, honeyed lips. In that great unconscious joy of passionate love I tarried for a little while. The damsel beautiful standing by my side like a statue of gem and the whole of that grove—all disappeared together. I gave a shriek and fell down".

His waking up to realise his homely surroundings and his appeal to the learned has already been given.

This poem like all other great poetry, like that of Dante, has very many rising tiers of meaning; hence its universal appeal to all of us according to our bent of mind. It appeals to the toddler as a lullaby and a nursery rhyme. It appeals to the school-going child as a fairy tale. To his elder brother with a developing moral conscience, it appeals as a fable. To his seniors in the college haunted by sex-thoughts, it is erotic poetry, perhaps as melodramatic as their favourite cinematographic films. To the adult, not yet finding his equilibrium in this world of unrest, failure and frustration, it is a veritable poem of escape—an opium for the mind to forget its misery. To the philosopher and metaphysician of an advanced age, it is an allegory and parable. To the unsophisticated, it is the folk song in their youth and a Purana in their old age. But all this is but a partial view, blurred and bizarre—all out of focus and therefore not true to the poet. It is a synthesis of all this and more—the true mystic poetry of the harmony of the Absolute, the Epic of the Soul.

8. Tiru T. V. K.—The Living[1]

Tiru Vi. Kalyāṇacunataram is no more with us. He was great not in wealth or in power, but in knowledge and in the milk of human kindness; and yet he was like a child in the hands of his friends and followers. His acquaintances feel this personal loss. Presiding over meetings, he had encouraged many dumb men, so to say, to become seasoned orators; sitting in the editorial chair he had encouraged many a novice to become in the end, editors, by publishing in the beginning, their maiden attempts even at the cost of forfeiting the security paid for his *Tecapaktaṉ* under the Press Act. That was an age when Tamil was yet a vernacular, the language of the slaves; when the speakers thought it was beneath their dignity to talk or write in Tamil, when even lovers of Tamil felt a kind of nervousness in expressing themselves in Tamil, when the audience felt that the Pandits spoke above their heads.

It was our good fortune that T. V. K. moved in all these circles and by his unobtrusive influence, encouragement, and example revolutionised this atmosphere. Many a modern poet, editor, labour-leader, politician and philosopher of Tamil Nad has confessed his debt to this departed great soul. All that, is the effect of his magnetic personaliy, his loving heart, his contagious learning—alas! no more to be experienced. It is the inevitable end of every life on this planet. His basic contributions to the growth and development in the Tamil land of the various modern movements of the National Indian Congress, of Labour, of Socialism, of cosmopolitanism, of religious reform, and of literary renaissance have all become eclipsed; he was, as it were, their seed and the nursling; but these have taken root so firmly, grown so high, and spread so extensively, all through the Tamil land, that we see no more the seed or the nursling. All that, we saw when he was alive. Will his name live in Tamil literature in the sphere of immortality?—that is a much more important question to the readers of "*Tamil Culture*."

T. V. K. was a born orator and it was as such, that he helped the various movements to develop. His writings but hold

1 "The Tamil Culture" January, 1958

up the mirror to his oratory. Some of his works had been first delivered as speeches and presidential addresses. In the last part of his life, the books and even his introductions were couched in the form of speeches or heart to heart talks; thus he brought a refreshing extemporaneity to his speeches which were otherwise characterised by a uniformity and a system.

This is a new approach to prose—to write as we speak, not colloquially but elegantly, as on the platform. Only alliteration and assonance of poetic rhythm abounded in the prose of the earlier age. He himself wrote the life of his Tamil Teacher Katirvēṟpiḷḷai, in that florid style. I remember one striking caption 'Nīlakirikku ēki Nīlakaṇṭar āṉār.' But long drawn sentences have no place in speech. The sentences in speech, become short and effective, forceful and living. There were other writers who preceded him in this attempt—an attempt which was inevitable when books had to be written to the school-going population, Publication of Tamil books was becoming a trade and the writers had to cater to the needs of the many who were not learned. There were others whose very instincts prompted them to write in their natural rhythm of simple prose; and they brought clarity and sweetness; but their writings lacked virility and force. Perhaps the subject matters discussed,—statements about literature, morals and religion—allowed, under the prevailing standard, no room for emotional outbursts, though in the debates carried on in writing, there was any amount of vituperation. There were certain attempts at exciting humour but they were vulgar. These writers could not reach the golden mean; they could be either colourless and serene, or vulgar and vituperative. The traces of the earlier prose were found in the, padding of the thoughts in a sentence with a series of '*eṉpatum*' which sometimes retained the older form of the poetic prose '*eṉpatūum*'. Even in T. V. K., the last part of a speech or writing summarising the whole speech, contains in the most appropriate way this much maligned word.

As an orator on the labour front, on the Congress platform, on the plank of social reform, he appeared as a firebrand, but all the same, as a dignified literary speaker who never played to the gallery. It was always a mystery to many critics, how he held his audience spell-bound, without any appeal to humour. He always appealed to higher and more sublime emotions. He could inspire us with a love for Nature, painting her in all her glories.

He could arouse in us a righteous indignation against injustice. He could make us weep over the miseries of the poor. Sometimes, his speech, when analysed later in cold print, looked as ordinary statements of facts, made from a higher, detached pedestal of learned Tamil. But, when first spoken, even those ordinary statements came with such a vigour and vitality that the audience felt a sort of communion with the speaker. His was not the oratory of a lawyer, but the song of a feeling heart. He never acted the part of others; he always expressed himself. Every word came from the bottom of his heart with the colourful glow of his feelings. He was through and through, a man of feelings—not their slave but as an artist, their master; this was very patent when he was on the platform. The beauty of his language is the ordered pattern of his feelings.

T. V. K. was nothing if not original, though he always harped on asserting that what he stated were all old truths of Tamil land—not a pretension but a sincere feeling of his. Satyagraha to him was as old as Appar; social reform was as old as *Tēvāram* and Caṅkam poets. He was the man of the future but speaking to us as the apostle of the Golden past. This itself was indeed original—a new appeal to the orthodoxy which would have condemned the new as heterodoxy. It was not a revolution—a breaking away from the past but a return to the hoary past and sacred Nature. Communism when shorn of its materialism is but to be 'at the Feet of the Arhat'. His learning helped him to popularise modern views as ancient thought. Tamil literature thus ceased to be for the chosen few; it was brought to the market place, true to the principles of modern democracy.

His style reflects this originality; but the ancient words, like '*eṟṟukku*', '*Aṇṇal*', live in his works. He is the master of the short sentences—one way of making easy the complicated thoughts. With the varying lengths of the short sentences he created a rhythm of his own. The sentences of the earlier prose become his paragraphs. These earlier setences though having marks of rhythm such as alliteration, had no real rhythm but a kind of droning sometime appearing as strangling all rhythm. But the paragraph of T. V. K. has a rhythm of its own, a rhythm of his thought and feeling, a variation therein, introducing a different paragraph.

Paragraph construction thus becomes natural and simple without the necessity for any elaborate systematisation.

The short sentences lead to the creation of many telling phrases and a few catch words—rather epigrams, which are the very life of modern journalism of which, in the sense of an art, he was a pioneer himself. He never indulged in any slang. The Tamilian ear caught the natural music of its language. Kalki contrasted passages from journals written before and after the advent of T. V. K. It is not that he discarded Sanskrit words as such. He avoided all jargon and made the language living, by accepting the rhythm of the age. The rhythm of the language changes from age to age, as may be realised by reading aloud the Caṅkam poems, Tēvāram hymns, Kampar's stanzas, Tāyumāṉavar's songs and Pārati's verses.

He had his own head lines. The modern slogans in Tamil were not of his making but were made possible by the trend of his prose. By keeping his language away from the quick sand of dead alliteration and the quagmire of fatal assonance, he kept it always full of vitality and vigour. The living language thus brought into higher regions of pure air, can breathe thus brought into higher regions of pure air, can breathe the ozone of alliteration and assonance wherever the ozone occurs in nature. "Nuṉaṅku moḻi vallārkku vanaṅku moḻi viṇṇappam" is the title of a learned article in those early days. "Aṉācārak kumpalai etirkkum kalāccārakkūṭṭam" is what we hear to-day. "Vēṉkaṭattai viṭōm viṭōm; Kumariyaik koṭōm, koṭōm" are powerful be a live fire of alliteration. He has himself popularised the slogans which do not appear, except when closely analysed, to cries of his audience—'Vāḻka', 'Velka'—cries to be raised when the appropriate first word, 'Tamiḻ Puraṭci' 'Aṟam' or 'Gandhi' was uttered by him.

An orator can make any theory plausible: that is how the profession of lawyers originally thrived as sophism. The mercenary orator of election times has become known to us all through the eletion platforms. But this is prostitution of an art. This art in virgin purity, understands all points of views with a sympathetic or empathetic heart, which is the very foundation of all arts. The universalism and cosmopolitanism —the Samarasa of T. V. K.—is another fruit of the Man as 'Orator'. His is the voice of Nature; the clarion call of Free-

dom, the mouthpiece of the oppressed and suppressed—the labourer, the women and Harijans—and the song of brotherhood. His worship of Nature opened our eyes to the glories of Nature surrounding us everywhere and always. His deification of womanhood makes us realise that we were all songs of our mother. Brotherhood of Man in the social, religious, and political spheres, was his very life-breath. In no speech, did he ever fail to impress on his audience these great truths. We saw him bridging the past with the future. Apart from this bridge of Time, he constructed a bridge in Space—connecting the thoughts of the West with the thoughts of the East, perhaps another aspect of the Time bridge, connecting modern and ancient thoughts. He had expressed all modern thoughts of history, science, philosophy and politics in Tamil, revealing the wonderful possibilities of Tamil as a vehicle of modern thought. These thoughts have come to live, thanks to his speeches and writings, especially because of his attempt at revealing them as reflections of the ancient ideals of our own country. The language which was considered rigid, about to break on account of the gigantic weight of modern thought, was made pliable in his hands, very much like gold drawn into various desired shapes by an artist of an expert goldsmith. His style therefore berathes a new aroma of modernity—all as usual original to him. His poems reveal the same personality but they have to be studied separately. His history of Indian freedom, his autobiography, his philosophical and psychological works *Uḷḷoḷi*, his essays on Murukaṉ and Saivism, his political addresses in 'Tamil Teṉral', introductions to various works like 'Sivañāṉapōtam', 'Neṭunalvāṭai', 'Mēṭaittamiḻ', and 'Periyapurāṇam. His exposition of Tayumānavar, Nammāḻvār and Rāmaliṅkar, his explanation of Gandhism, Ferminism, Love and Communism are original masterpieces of Tamilian thought and modern Tamil, standing unique as the great and loveable, permanent and valuable contribution of this father of modern oratory in Tamil.

9. A New Light from Tamil on the History of Indian Rhetoric[1]

Dandin's Kāvyādārsa has been ruling the study of Rhetoric in the Tamil country, ever since it was composed in the court of Rajasimha Pallava at Kāñci in the 7th century. There are two translations in Tamil, one in 'Viracōliyam' and the other which is itself called '*Tantialankāram.*' This popularity is due to its origin in Tamil country, and perhaps also to the fact that it reflects to a certain extent tendencies in Tamil literature known to him and which will have to be reserved for a future discussion. But there are reasons to suspect that the Tamil country had known a different tradition, in its study of Rhetoric, which is older than Dandian and Bhāmaha, and which curiously enough throws some new light on the historical development of Indian Rhetoric.

The *Nikantus* or Lexicons in Tamil enumerate the Figures of Speech, in a way, slightly different from that found in Dandin, '*Cūtamani Nikantu* as it is called in Tamil, belongs to the reign of Krishnadeva Raya the Great; and it enumerates twenty eight figures of speech (XII—125 to 127 verses). '*Pinkala-Nikantu*' also enumerates (VI—269 sutra) the self same twenty eight figures of speech, though with some variations. This work is referred to by Pavananti, the author of the famous Tamil Grammar *Nannūl* probably written at the turn of the 12th century A.D.? in the reign of Kulottunga III, under whom Ciya Ganga, the patron of Pavananti lived. *Yāpparunkalam*, a book on prosody, probably of the 10th century, refers to Alankara beginning with *Rūpaka* and ending probably with *Sankirna*. The commentary, which was probably written in the same century, enumerates those figures, but unfortunately the name of one alankāra is missing in the printed edition. The missing figure at the end can be easily restored as "*upamā rūpaka.*" It may be noted, in passing, that while 'Sankirna' or 'Viraviyal' is called the last of the alankāras in this work, the

1 Poetics in Tamil is reserved for a more inclusive study ; here Figures of Speech alone are intended.

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other Nikaṇṭus give that place to 'Vāḻttiyal' which is the last but one, in this list. For more information this work refers us to a Tamil book on Rhetoric' *Aṇiyiyal'* which unfortunately is lost to us. This book probably belongs to the ninth century.

Tivākaram, probably the earliest *Nikaṇṭu* known in Tamil, also gives one such enumeration of Figures. This book, since it inteprets the word Chalukya as the name of great rulers or emperor's whilst explaining the word *'irāṭṭar'* (Rashtrakutas) as feudatories should be taken to have been composed when the Chalukyas were in power, before the Rashtrakutas exhibited any Imperial design. This will make the book, in any case, earlier than 750 A.D. The list of Figures given there may be taken to represent, a pre-Dandin tradition in the study of Rhetoric in the Tamil land, in particular, and in South India in general. It is this list given in *Tivākaram*, which is found in all the Tamil *Nikaṇṭus* and also in *Yāpparuṅkalavirulti*. This list is probably of the 7th century, if not earlier. The commentary on *Iṟiyanār Akapporuḷ* probably reduced to writing in the 7th century, does not recognise the study of Rhetoric as a different branch of study.

There is, of course, an earlier tradition of *Tolkāppiyam* which nobody has tried to place later than the 5th century A.D., though a majority of Tamil scholars will attribute an earlier age, earlier even than the Christian era. This tradition knows only *upama alaṅkāra* or simile or the *uvamai* as the Tamils call it. *Tolkāppiyam* enumerate the particles of comparison like the *upamartha nipatas* of Nirukta and Nikaṇṭu, discuss their various significance of comparison, and differentiates four kinds of comparison, viz., of form, colour, action and result. These may be compared with the 'Karmōpamā', *bhūtōpama*, 'rūpōpamā' and 'siddhōpama', not as identical figures but showing the tendency to include everything under upamā. 'Luptōmā' of Nikaṇṭu and Nirukta which is to blossom later on into *rūpaka* is the *uvamait tokai* of *Tolkāppiyam* one of the six kinds of its compounds. *Upamā* is included in the discussion on the theme of poetry, probably, as held by Pērāciriyar, the commentator, in the sense in which upamā, was explained by Patañjali :—"Māna or measure is that which is employed in ascertaining a thing unknown ; *upamāna* is approximation to the māna and determines the thing not absolutely but approxi-

mately, e.g., when we say 'a gavaya is like a cow." This tradition knows other modes of expression but not as Figures of Speech. They were all looked upon merely as variations of this central figure of *upamā*, a tradition which becomes systematised, as far as this point of view is concerned, in Vāmana, and clearly explained by Appaya Diksitar in his *Citramīmāmsā* Other modes of expression are discussed in its grammatical portion.

Oxymoron, rhetorical repetitions, alliteration and assonance are looked upon by Tolkāppiyar as creatlng patterns of meters, by coming in a line, with or without intervals of feet; and therefore, they were not considered figures of speech, contributing to the clarification on enjoyment of the subject matter of poetry.

These groupings remind us of Bhāmaha. In his *kāvyalaṅkāra* in the second chapter, he enumerates the Figures of Speech in four groups, probably suggesting the four stages in the development and study of the Figures of Speech. This intenpretation receives further support from a study of Bharata. Bharata mentions *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *dipaka* and *yamaka* as *Kāvyālaṅkāras*. If the repetition of a sound as distinct from a repetition of a syllable can be separated from *yamaka* as anuprāsaprasa or assonance, we get a development later than that of Bharata; and this is what is found as the first group in Bha-Bhāmaha. If this is correct, one may be justified in concluding that the second, third and fourth groups also represent the second, third and fourth stages in the development of the Figures of speech.

Bhāmaha's groups, from this point of view, may be compared with the grouping in *Tivākaram*. As Bhāmaha gives more than twenty eight figures, *Tivākaram* which gives no more than 28, may be taken to represent a stage earlier than that of Bhāmaha. Even so here seems to be a difference between these two lists, as marking two stages of development. It is for further research to find out whether any principle other than that of historical development entered into the mind of Bha-Bhāmaha. The first group seems in *Tivākaram* to be the same as in Bhāmaha. Probably the second and third groups of Bhāmaha appear as the second group in *Tivākaram* but *yathāsaṅkhyā* does not appear in *Tivākaram*, which probably following the

traditions of *Tolkāppiyam* looks upon it as a special kind of prosodial patterning rather than as specific figure of speech. This will point out the existence of a Tamilian or Southern School of Rhetoric as distinct from that of Bhāmaha and others. These first two groups exhaust fourteen figures, leaving only fourteen for the third group in *Tivākaram*, whereas Bhāmaha's last group enumerates ten more figures, which may all form a further development, later than that of *Tivākaram*. Daṇḍin gives some more.

In this view of the historical development, *Tolkāppiyam* embodies a tradition earlier than that of Bharata's work, now extant. Keith's statement (History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 372), "Beyond vague references to Kasyapa and Vararuci, and Yaska's knowledge of discussion of similes, *upamās*, we have no certain information on poetics, until it occurs as a subordinate element in the Bhāratīya Naṭyaśtra," may very well be taken as applicable to this period. Various modes of poetic expressions are indeed known to this age. But they are considered in prosody, in the study of compounds; and classified sometimes as qualities or negation of defects. The second stage will be that of Bharata as embodied in the first group of *Tivākaram*. Bharata classifies other modes of expression as guṇas and lakṣaṇas and not as laṇkāras. The third stage is emodied in the second group of *Tivākaram*. The fourth stage is found in the third and last groups of *Tivākaram*. A further stage of development is seen in the increased number of figures given in Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin.

This does not mean that we are fixing the age of the respective authors, but only arranging the traditions, represented in these various books, in their historical sequence, as explained above. There may be here a time lag. One may find an earlier tradition still persisting in a later work. For instance, '*Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu*' of the 16th century repeats parrot like, the *Tivākaram* list, which represents a pre-Bhāmaha tradition; but this ought not to be taken to suggest that '*Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu*' itself was a pre Bhāmaha work or that Bhāmaha came after the 16th century. With this warning in mind, the list may be taken as a basis for the study of historical development of the figures of speech.

The first group in *Tivākaram* consists of (1) *uruvakam*, (2) *uvamai*, (3) 'vaḻimaṭakku', (4) *nilaimaṭakku* and (5) *viḷakku*. Though ordinarily, there is difficulty in indentifying the Tamil

names, with the Sanskrit appellations of figures of speech, fortunately these five do not raise any such problem. They correspond to Bhāmaha's *rūpaka, upamā, anuprāśa, yamaka* and *dipakā* respectively. *Yāpparuṅkala Virutti* mentions the name *dipakā* itself, whilst *Cūṭāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu* translates the word as '*cuṭar*' (flame or light). *Piṅkalam* translates *anuprāśa* and *yamaka* as 'vaḷi' *nilai* and *maṭakku*; perhaps one may interpret it to give the two names, 'Vaḷimaṭakku' and *nilaimaṭakku*, taking *maṭakku* as *dipakā* going separately with 'vaḷi' and *nilai*. This will accord with *Tivākaram Yāpparuṅkala virutti* gives 'vaḷi *moḷi* and *maṭakku* as the names for these two fiigures; perhaps, here also one may interpret it to mean 'vaḷimaṭakku' and 'moḷi *maṭakku*' 'Vaḷi' translates the word *anu*. All these seem, to include both the figures, under the group of *yamaka* as Bharata did, and to suggest that this *yamaka* was later on considered as two.

The second group in *Tivākaram* gives rise to some textual problems. By some mistake the figures *nōkku, uḷtoṭar, tokaimoḷi* and *mikai moḷi* all expressed within the short span of a line, had got mixed up with the third group mentioned in *Tivākaram*. A comparison with other works in Tamil seems to prove our theory, and also to assign correctly their order in the list. These, instead of coming between *maṟuttu* 'moḷinilai' and *uṭaṉ nilai-k-kūṭṭam* in the third group, should come between *veḷippaṭu-nilai* and *vārttai* in the second group itself. If this interpretation is correct, *Tivākaram*, in its second group, has the following figures: 1. *Vēṟṟumai nilai*, 2. *veḷippaṭu nilai*, 3. 'nōkku' 4. *uḷ toṭar*, 5. *tokai* 'moḷi', 6. 'mikaimoḷi', 7. *vārttai*, 8. *taṉmai* and 9. *piṟaṉkōḷ vaippu*. These can be indentified with 1. *vyatirēka*, 2. *vibhavānā*, 3. *utprēkṣā*, 4. *ākṣepa* 5. 'samāsōkti', 6. 'atisayōkti', 7. *vārttā*, 8. 'svabhāvōkti' and 9. *arthāntranyāsa* respectively. The order in Bhāmaha is different, and may be represented by using the above numbers thus: 4, 9, 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, *yathāsaṅkhyā* (which is omitted in *Tivākaram*) 3 and 8. *Piṅkalam, Yāpparuṅkalam* and *Cūṭāmaṇi* give *uṭkoḷ* for *uḷtoṭar* of *Tivākaram*, which may be a wrong reading of the original form 'uṭkōl' especially, in view of the possibility of reading *t* as *k* in the Middle ages.

Arthāntaranyāsa is given as *piṟaporuḷ vaippu* in *Tivākaram* and *Yāppuraṅkala viruttii*, but as 'piṟarkōḷ vaippu' in *Piṅkalam* and as *veṟaruttam vaippu* in *Cūṭāmaṇi*. The meanings do not differ. The commentary on *Cūṭāmaṇi* identifies *uṭkoḷ* with *viḷakku*.

The third group in *Tivākaram* consists of 1. '*Ciṟappu* 'moḷi' *Cilēṭai*, 3. *Maṟuttu* 'moḷi' *nilai*, 4. *Uṭaṉ nilai-k-kūṭṭam*, 5. *Uvamāṉa (m)uruvakam* (*m* is probably a mistake for *v*), 6. *Nuvalāi nuvuṟci*, 7. 'Talaikkaṭṭiya moḷi', 8. *Nitaricaṇam*, 9. *Pārāṭṭu*, 10. *Oruṅkiyal nilai*, 11. *aiyam*, 12. *Uyarvu*, 13. *Viraviyal* and 14.

Vāḻttu. These may be equated with 1. 'Viśeṣōkti', 2. *ślēṣā*, 3. *apahnuti*, 4. 'tulyayōga', 5. 'upamōrūpaka' 6. *aprastuta-prasamsa*, 7. *samāhita*, 8. *nidarśana*, 9. *prēyas*, 10. *udātta*, 11. 'sahōkti', 12. *sandēha*, 13. *samsṛṭam*, or *samkirnā* and 14. *āsis*.

Yāpparuṅkalam perhaps wrongly gives No. 3 as 'maṟumoḻi' probably having *uttara* of later writers in mind; 7 as 'uyarmoḻi' and No. 9 as *Mārāṭṭu* which is evidently a mistake for *Pārāṭṭu*. No. 5 is missing in the present edition. *Piṅkalam* agrees with *Tivākaram* except with reference to No. 5, where it gives the correet reading suggested above.

Cūṭāmaṇi gives No. 3 as *Maṟuttu nilaiyiṉ vārttai* in an expanded and explanatory form; No. 5 as *uvamārūpakam* reminding us of the Sanskrit form. 'Mākiḻēci' instead of being taken as qualifiying *nitaricanam* is counted as a separate figure in the commentary evidently having *prēyas* mind; but this is evidently wrong because *pārāṭṭu* comes later as the translation of *prēyas* as in other Tamil works. The last line of the verse No. 126 here, is given wrongly as *Uṟuttiye yiṭuntalikkōṭṭuyaraṇi taricanaṅkaḷ*, instead of *Uṟuttiye yiṭum talaikkaṭṭuyarvu nitaricanaṅkaḷ*. This new reading will give us No. 7 in a shortened form as *talaikkaṭṭu*; No. 12 as *uyarvu* and No. 8 as *nitaricanam*. Probably *Cūṭāmaṇi* is having the reading 'uyarmoḻi' for *talaikkaṭṭu*; but if we do not take *uyarvu* seperately, that figure will be missing. Exigencies of metre make *Cūṭāmaṇi* give the order thus: (to use the above Nos.) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 9, 10 and 11.

Bhāmaha's order is almost the same as found in Udbhaṭa and in Daṇḍin, suggesting that this order is something uniform in this Southern tradition. The figure *āsis* is found in Daṇḍin. Daṇḍin has added *hētu*, *sūkṣma* and *lēsa* (which Bhāmaha rejects) in between the figures of the third group and those of the fourth group. Daṇḍin does not mention the grouping, but enumerates all the figures without any break. He also mentions the rest of the figures in the following order :—*Prēyas, rasavat, ūrjasvin*, 'paryāyōkti', *samāhita, udātta, apahnuti, slesā*, 'viśeṣōkti', 'tulyayōga', 'virōda', *aprastuta prasamsā, vyājastuti*, 'sahōkti', *parivritti, āsis, samkirṇa*, and *bhāvikā*. Bhāmaha has *visēṣam* after *visēṣokti*; *susandeha* (which is *aiyam* in Tamil) and *ananvaya* after *parivritti*. *Tivākaram* list has some figures from Daṇḍin and some from Bhāmaha, which, either of these two, probably rejected or included in their other figures. 'Vaḻttu' or *āsis* is one of the themes of Tamil poetry in *puṟam*. *Tivākaram* list may be taken to be the earlier one in this tradition

Before concluding, we have to consider the criticism of Keith (Opp. Cited. p. 374) levelled against this theory taking

Bhāmaha's account as helping us historically to distinguish the various stages of development. He admits that the first grouping may suggest the first step. He continues:—"But it is much more dubious, if the fact that Bhāmaha mentions after this set of five, a set of six, has any chronological conclusion; and the figures themselves are rather more complex than can be supposed to have been early. Our trust in the whole theory is seriously undermined when we find that to a third period of development are assigned three new figures, and that the fourth period is made to recognise the large number of figures, twenty four more, in Bhāmaha." Bhāmaha speaks of some accepting the first group whilst others accept the second and so on. It may be true that he is not in so many words suggesting the historical development. What is claimed is not that these figures were "invented" as various steps in the historical march of poetry. Probably, examples for some of these figures are found in the most ancient writings themselves. Students of Rhetoric in their attempt at scientific generalisation, after a careful analysis of the modes of poetic expression discover these specific but recurring modes and find their characteristic features, for the help of others to recognise these figures whenever and wherever found. This is certainly not an invention of a poetic Figure. It is because of this attempted definition which will be going on improving, on a basis of more and more careful analysis, we get a difference of opinion among Bhaṭṭi, Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha, who treat the figures in different ways, giving different definitions and illustrations, and suggesting different classifications, while rejecting some figures and accepting others. The natural development of poetic expression, in any case, is something different from its recognition and analysis, its definition and classification, even as the development or the evolution of the world and the living beings therein, is different from the discovery of the law of evolution and its various stages by the scientists at a later date. Keith is labouring under a misapprehension that the historical development that we see suggested by Bhāmaha's account, is the invention (the use of this word by Keith is significant) of a Series of Figures of Speech by the poets themselves at the various stages of the history of poetry. In making this criticism Keith forgets his own earlier statement (p. 372) "It is very possible to exaggerate the effect of theories of poetics on Indian poetry and to ignore the fact that in India, as elsewhere, the poets set the models on which theory was built, and that

it was only gradually that the effect of the text-books on poetics came to be of ever-increasing importance. It is little short of absurdity to imagine Kālidāsa as laboriously striving to conform to rules, which in his time were, to the best of our knowledge, only in the process of formulation, and which in any case were, as we can see from our extant sources, always being laid down with distinct divergences of emphasis and detail." If we refer only to the discovery and recognition, definition and classification of figures, no consideration of any complexity of the figures themselves need arise. After all, between Bharata's work and the works of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Bhaṭṭi, there may not be many centuries intervening. Asvaghōṣa, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Bhāravi probably came in this intervening period to inspire this kind of analysis. The inscriptions abound in these figures. "To assert even a common source of Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha as opposed to Bhaṭṭi is beyond our means of proof and to ascribe to Medhavin the invention of utprēkṣa is quite invalid" (p. 375). We may not be so cocksure as Keith, in view of the new light thrown by the Tamil list to which we may now usefully turn.

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10. The Teaching of Tamil Grammar*

" eṇṇeṉpa ēṉai eḻutteṉpa ivviraṇṭum
kaṇṇeṉpa vāḻum uyirkku "

To me it has been given as a student and a teacher, as a parent and a correspondent, to observe and experience subjectively and objectively, from inside and outside, the teaching of Tamil. The general impression of a Tamil class left in my mind, except in those rare cases coming into contact with mighty personalities, is that of a dull, unimportant, and ununderstandable gathering, full of potential mischief. It does not require any very elaborate analysis to find out the root cause of this calamity. The teachers of Tamil count for nothing; and Tamil Grammar has driven the students who are compelled by some syllabus to memorise the mantras of Pavaṇanti Māmuṉi, to the point of despair.

It is very often presumed that this objection to the study of what just now goes by the name of grammar, is born of ignorance of that subject. The truth is really otherwise. It is eminent scholars of Comparative Grammar, like Skeat, Jesperson and Whitney, that sounded the death knell of the old school of teaching grammar. I can have no prejudice against Tamil Grammar which has ever been my hobby. Nor has the teaching of the real grammar apart from the spurious one, created any problem for me. That is because I was taught by my Master to consider ancient Tamil Grammar as the true science of language and not, as the framers of some lingering syllabus mistook it, as a handbook on correct writing. On account of this wrong approach, even the students of Oriental Colleges fail to get inspired in the subject, and nourish in their heart of hearts, a hatred towards grammar, thus reaping no benefit from a course in *Tolkāppiyam*.

Tolkāppiyam and *Naṉṉūl* are monuments of scientific and descriptive grammar. The chapter on sounds 'eḻuttu' deals with phonology a subject completely forgotten by the subsequent generations; the chapter on words 'col' deals with

* "The Tamil Culture" July 1958.

morphology, semantics, and ergonics; and the chapter on subject matter (*Porul*) or literary theme deals with the art of literary composition and poetic appreciation. The commentaries studied in their proper perspective, reveal to us the historical progress of the Tamil language but it must be confessed, it is kind of an esoteric teaching. Even as the judge in the guise of interpreting the statute actually legislates for the changed conditions, so does the Indian commentator frame his rules and evolve his philosophy, in the guise of interpreting the ancient texts. This is a well kown legal fiction. Without knowing his role of an original contributor when one goes to him for any light as an annotator, one meets with the saddest disappointment. *Tolkāppiyam* codified, so to say, the rules obtaining in its age. The living language has been ever changing and growing as Tolkāppiyar himself expected (*kaṭicol illai kālattuppaṭinē*) discarding many old rules and evolving many new ones. But still the commentators by their magical interpretations keep up the show of an unchanging and unchangeable grammar, for all times and for all contingencies. Once the legal fiction is understood, the commentaries become so many historical grammars reviewing the whole march of the language from epoch to epoch.

When the question of the confusing grammatical terminology was hotly discussed in the early twenties of this century, an interesting suggestion was thrown out by a member of the English Association that the principles of Universal Grammar could be usefully taught to the children, with great profit and that nothing more was needed. Such an universal grammar is fortunately found only in *Tolkāppiyam*. It begins long before the time of Wundt, with the sentence as the unit of thought. After explaining certain interesting problems of concordance and agreement, Tolkāppiyar continues his study of words with an analysis of the declensions of nouns. It is true that the genitive is really a complement of the noun; but if the locative was the source of the genitive as some will have it, even the genitive might be interpreted as a complement of the verb. The sutram which ends "Āyeṭṭeṉpa toḻiṉ mutaṉilaiyē" emphasises this concept of complement of the verb. After this study, the sentence is analysed into a subject or name word and a predicate or the action word, both of which may take complements. Jesperson's theory of Rank, arranging the words into primaries, secondaries and tertiaries receives an unexpected support from

one of the cutrams; and from the general arrangement of nouns, finite verbs, *peyareccam* and *vinai-eccam*. Tamil is an agglutinative language and its words appear to be compounds or *pakupatam*. Even a child can resolve some of them into roots or *uriccol* and inflexions or *itaiccol* This is all the morphology that need be taught to anyone. The important distinction beween nouns and verbs on the one hand a *uriccol* and *itaiccol* or the semantemes and morphemes on the other, had not been fully grasped by the teachers of the old school, in spite of the explanations offered by the ancient commentaries of Teyvaccilaiyār and Cēnāvaraiyār and these self-luminous terms give no light to these blind leaders of our youths.

The teachers of grammar, in the dark ages, began to assume the role of dictators and constituted themselves into final courts of appeal in the province of correct linguistic usage. Even Manu, they forgot, never legislated but only codified the usage. Tolkāppiyar by a process of inductive and objective study has classified the laws of linguistic usage prevalent in his days. A language reaches its perfection when reduced to writing and blessed with a grammar; but unfortunately this kind of perfection stems the further flow of the linguistic current, leading sometimes to stagnation and putrefaction. There is always here as everywhere that eternal struggle between freedom and order where failure to adjust spells death. A language lives sometimes inspite of the grammarians. The progress which Jesperson has traced in the history of the English language is not always possible after the codification of a grammar. The legal attitude of the grammarians has developed a wrong view of grammar. It is fundamentally wrong to look upon grammar as a normative science; it is only an objective science of the linguistic phenomena, still in the stage of description, analysis, and classification, without any power of forecast and control of the phenomena. When that is the true picture of the grammar, the grammarians cannot but become the laughing stock of the modern writers, when the former give the authority of the old grammatical texts as sufficient explanation for any usage which they deem as correct.

The mind of the student is thus led away from the scientific quest of the fundamental principles of grammar and language to the dictatorial rule of their paltry jargons. This attitude of the grammarians had robbed the study of grammar

of all its inspiration and interest. Every rule or grammar is social in origin, demanded by the exigencies of time and usage. It is not a logical proposition but a conventional formula. It is a solution of a linguistic problem, and looked at in that way, the dry bones of grammar appear full of life clothed in flesh and blood. Presented that way, the rules of "valu-amaiti" or exceptional idiomatic usage, for instance, will be as interesting as the solution of riddles. A human form appears at a distance but it is not clear whether the person is a man or a woman. In the absence of a word common to both man and woman in Tamil, how to express this doubt becomes an interesting problem. The language has solved this riddle by the usage of the word 'form'. The usages. "Is he a man or woman"? and "Is she a man or woman"? being admittedly incorrect Tamil, the usage "Is that form masculine or feminine"? which goes against no established rules of grammar, has come to be accepted by the convention of the people, who are after all the real builders of the language. It is in this spirit that the ancient grammarians laid down the rules. Their Cutras are hard nuts to crack, because they are so many cryptic notes for their lectures to the students who thronged to their gurukulas. Again, the *puṇarcci* or *sandhi* rules are solutions of interesting and important phonetic problems. The solutions suggested reveal the working of many curious laws of phonetics. The conceptions of glides, assimilation, dissimilation and omission of surplusage in communication along with its contrary principle of necessary redundancy—all these and more lie embedded in these rules, which unfortunately remain unexplained in this way to the modern students thirsting for real knowledge.

There is a great and incessant demand for replacing the heart-aching grammar by a soul-stirring art or science of composition. The word *ceyyuḷ* used by Tolkāppiyar fortunately denotes a literary composition whether in prose or poetry; and thus in this world ever arguing about the reality of the distinction between prose and poetry, he has cut the Gordian knot. He relies more upon the rhythm than upon the rules of scanning. Unfortunately our grammarians coming to teach, have not as yet realised this great truth. When sufficient ear training and practice in voice production are given, the various shades of pronunciation, intonation, and musical pattern, come to be appreciated by the child. I have known children of the First Form composing verses on varied subjects in the tunes with

which, (thanks to the Talkies,) they had become familiar. Can it be honestly stated that we are cultivating this creative art in our schools? There was a time when poetic compositions were condemned by many as futile. That was the result of the teaching of the pseudo-grammar.

Tolkāppiyar divides literary compositions into poetry of noumenal experience and poetry of phenomenal experience (*Akam* and *Puṛam*), a distinction much more subtle than that of subjective and objective poetry. The various aspects of these are elaborated only for the purpose of illustration; but forgetting this underling purpose, the latter day Tamilians have slavishly codified these free illustrations, as the only forms of poetry, denying any freedom for new usages, or illustrations to grow and thrive. Living poetry has thus been conventionalised into a mummy.

Sentiment (*Meyppāṭu* or *Rasa*) as opposed to sentimentality is the soul of poetry, and Tolkāppiyar enumerates eight sentiments, a study of which would unlock the emotion recollected in tranquillity and locked up in poetry. Figures of speech are not looked upon by Tolkāppiyar as external appendages or ornaments but as something intrinsic in poetry. They are the modes of expression—the very form of poetic thought. Tolkāppiyar fortunately does not enumerate the various figures of speech; for, no enumeration can either reveal the inner truth or exhaust the perennial flow of the poetic forms. He anticipates Appayya Dikshita, in considering the varied figures as variations of simile. Again, suggestion (*iṛaicci*) giving full play to imagination is the very breath of poetry. Even this valuable conception had been allowed to be forgotten by the subsequent generations. It is really therefore very surprising that Tolkāppiyar should have grasped the fundamentals of literary composition and appreciation and portrayed them with the help of a few bold strokes of his pen. These are the very truths which have to be, by proper method, instilled into the hearts of our children. Tolkāppiyar by the use of the term "*Paṭu tirai vaiyam*" (948), true to his universal outlook, makes these principles applicable to the whole world, though attempts have been made to interpret the term to refer only to the Tamil country, to which alone the *Tolkāppiyam* is considered to have any application by the short-sighted Tamilians of the later days. It is not possible sufficiently to bemoan the loss sustained by this

country by its neglect of these salient truths. One cannot but despair of the future of this Tamil country, when, in her seats of learning, the students are refused the firm grasp of these essentials of literary composition. When is the gulf yawning wider and wider between the writers of Tamil and the teachers of Tamil to be bridged, if not here and now?

There is a new idea in the air, ever since the days of the Russian Revolution. The conception of planning has taken deep roots in every country. It is no longer looked upon as interfering with natural evolution of things. Planning weeds out the unnecessary growths and safeguards the natural development. This conception of planning has unconsciously come to play its part in the arena of language. Linguists have always been planning for a universal language. Basic English reveals the working of the principle of planning in this new sphere. Are not even our text books such attempts at planning as these? Unfortunately this has not yet been realised by many. If the Tamil newspapers read by the man in the street contain more than 5,000 words, of what use can these text books be, which even if systematically studied from the infant standard to the highest class in an elementary school, could give only a command over 1,000 or 2,000 words? Are not years spent in such institutions without equipping oneself for life, at least to the extent of reading the newspapers, a criminal waste of time? Is there not then room for planning?

No word-frequency list, as the one prepared by Thorndike for English, has yet been prepared for Tamil. Nor has any one systematically and scientifically analysed according to the varying physical ages of the children, the linguistic difficulties of the child, and the common errors of the age. If that has been done, and quantitatively arranged in the order of frequency, it will not be difficult to plan a course of study for avoiding the usual pitfalls of language. Mr. Palmer having emphasised the necessity for preparing a microcosm of words in a language—a minimum number of words that ought to be taught—based on the principles of frequency, on the principle of concreteness, on the principle of ergonic combination, on the principle of proportion or importance, and on the principle of general expediency. Once it is admitted as is usually done now-a-days, that grammar is not to be taught directly but that the rules ought to take a shape and form in the unconscious mind thus giving

rise to a steady habit of speech and writing as a result of the extensive reading and speaking in which students become gradually interested, in the course of their supervised studies, the linguistic planning here referred to assumes a great importance in the teaching of grammar.

The verbal microcosm varies from period to period in the history of a language, and even among individuals it grows with their age. This truth needs no emphasis in this age of mental tests, Blessed with real insight, Tolkāppiyar in his chapter on Semantemes or *uriccol* throws out a few valuable suggestions. He explains that there will be no end to the process of explaining a word by another and that by a third and so on. (*Poruṭkupporuḷ teriyiṉ atu varampiṉṟē* cutram 847). One however need not always rely on this futile method. Palmer, when he describes that semanticising or conveying a meaning, may be by natural association, by translation, by definition, and by context, reminds us of Tolkāppiyar who states that the meaning can be correctly conveyed without suffering any change, if it can be explained in other ways (*Poruṭkuttiripillai uṇartta valliṉ* cutram 875). But there is a limit to such teaching and explanation, a limit prescribed by the receptive capacity of the students adapted to their width of experience: (*Uṇarcci vāyil uṇarvōr valittē* cutram 876). The mental tests have shown to the world that there is an age for understanding certain conceptions and stories. It is foolish if not dangerous to quicken the pace of the mental development of the child. It is impossible to make a child of four, understand the conception of subject or object. Have our text books taken this important truth into consideration?

Nobody has attempted to study the development of the grammatical sense in the child of the Tamil country. But the other countries can show us the way. The Iowa Child Welfare Research Station gives an outline of the progressive stages in language development (Little, N. F., and William, H. M., — *An Analytical Scale of Language Achievement*, University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 1937-13 No. 2, 88-94): —

THE CHILD

(1) Vocalises spontaneously — babbles.

(2) Definitely attends to vocal stimulation by turning head toward or watching person vocalising.

(3) Uses syllables consisting of consonant and vowel in spontaneous vocal activity.

(4) Vocalises in response to being talked to.

(5) Shows comprehension by some specific and consistent response to verbal stimulation waving "bye-bye" on demand, etc.

(6) Uses final consonant in syllables,

(7) Uses vocal symbol to express meaning,

(8) Imitates sound in pitch or inflexion,

(9) Uses five symbols to express meaning,

(10) Uses ten symbols to express meaning.

(11) Combines two words or symbols to express meaning ligible to one unfamiliar with the child).

(12) Uses six conventional words accurately. (Pronunciation need not be perfect but words must be intelligible to one unfamiliar with child).

(13) Uses agent — action or action — object structure such as "ride car" or "hurt baby".

(14) Definitely uses noun verb or verb object structure. (Must have more than one instance.)

(15) Substitutes more than once a pronoun for other person's name.

(16) Uses preposition more than one. (Usually appears as the substitution of such a phrase as "go to town" for "go town" or "ride in car" for "ride car".)

(17) Qualifies noun with adjective.

(18) Qualifies verb with adverb.

(19) Uses auxiliary verbs.

(20) Uses regular plural in nouns more than once.

(21) Uses any tense of verb other than the present.

(22) Uses conjunction.

(23) Uses past tense correctly.

(24) Uses compound sentence.

(25) Uses complex sentence giving correct instance of dependent clause.

(26) Uses future tense correctly more than once.
(27) Uses correct regular comparatives in adjectives.
(28) Uses correct regular superlatives in adjectives.
(29) Uses irregular plural nouns correctly.
(30) Uses compound-complex sentence.
(31) Uses correct regular superlatives in adverbs.
(32) Uses past perfect tense correctly.
(33) Uses future perfect tense correctly.

With the help of this, we have to observe the Tamil child and prepare an outline of the progressive stages of the development of the linguistic sense in the Tamil child and correlate it with the age, before utilising that valuable information in preparing a scheme of study or a scheme of speech training for our children. The necessity for such planning needs no further plea. Unfortunately in our country nothing has been done in this way, and therefore when the teacher goes to teach grammar on the basis of cutras, he lectures above the head of the children who begin to dislike the teacher and the subject.

The verbal miscrocosm of the modernn age, thanks to our material progress assumes vast proportions. The claims of our scientific and mechanical age can be satisfactorily met by any one of the ancient languages like our Tamil, only after proper linguistic planning. A blue print of the field of studies to be covered, of the technical terms to be used and of the principles to be followed in coining new technical words has to be prepared. For nearly two decades, the mother tongue has been the medium of instruction in our high schools and yet no uniformity has been established in the use of technical terms. That in the midst of mutual recriminations between the Sanskritists and the Tamil purists, the students should suffer is indeed a sad reflection on the present condition of our educational efforts. The principles of coining technical terms are ultimately in one sense of the word, grammatical rules. The perspicuous morphology of the Tamil language is so self-explanatory that any diligent student of Tamil can straightway coin successfully the popular scientific terms. The studies therefore have to be planned in such a way as to familiarise the students with the various methods of expressions, a familiarity with which will help them to understand and appreciate any current coin issued from the linguistic mint of accepted usage.

Viewed within the background of linguistic progress the *Tolkāppiyam* cutram,

kaṭi col illai kālattuppaṭinē (935)

(that no new word which has gained currency in course of time can be condemned) and the cutrams of Pavaṉanti

'paḻaiyaṉa kaḻitalum putiyaṉa pukutalum
vaḻuvala kāla vakaiyiṉaṉē'

(that the old usuage disappears and the new gains currency; this is the play of time; there is nothing wrong about it) and

pakuti vikuti iṭainilai cāriyai
canti vikāram āṟiṉum ēṟpavai
muṉṉippuṇarppa muṭiyum eppataṅkaḷum.

(that all the words can be successfully analysed if only done with care into the six categories: theme, suffix, infix, inflections, assimilatory changes and euphonic changes.) cease, if one may be pardoned for indulging in ancient and modern jargons, to be dry bones, splitting and creeking in the grammarian's Golgotha but become human dynamos charging the whole world with its electricity, producing millions of kilowatts of mental energy for driving the social engine on its way to progress. In this age of atomic bomb one must not forget the explosive power of effective and active words. An innocuous monosyllable like the word "ass" generates and releases on the spur of the moment any amount of energy, feeling and action both in the speaker and the auditor when uttered as a term of abuse. Appreciated in this light, 'the mysteries of language present a panorama of miracles all through the course of its history, and a deeper study will compel language to yield its inner truths, explaining these mysteries on a rational basis. We hope we have seen the end of the age of the dictators. Mighty forces of destruction were let loose on this earth by the power of the tongue. The whole world resounded with the roaring of the puny little mannikin of a Hitler for well-nigh a decade and a half, which shook the whole world, mankind and all its culture to their very foundations. Even from a pragmatic point of view the study of speech is a necessity in an age of democracy. Grammar stands arraigned before the world that it has done all it can to stifle the development of speech, though the ancient grammars like *Tolkāppiyam*, with their phonetic rules of pronunciation, emphasise the speech aspect of language.

II

Unfortunately the study of these ancient works of grammar, so full of life and light have been metamorphosed into a heroic pilgrimage through a dreary desert of meaningless learning, possible only for the chosen few, all but dead to the world. No wonder Sampson exclaims "It is the sorry fate of literature to fall into the hands of school masters and examiners who care for her dowry more than for her charms. Communication of enjoyment indeed may be called the immediate purpose of the lesson on literature. Deeper communcations may follow but they must travel in the path of love and liking. Literature may become a subject for study but it must be first of all the object of love." Miss E. T. Rajēswari. in an interesting paper, contributed to the Commemoration Volume presented to the late lamented Tamil scholar, T. V. Lōkanāta Mutaliyār, brings home to us the humour enshrined in *Tolkāppiyam*. This human aspect of the ancient grammar has rarely been emphasised. Our grammarians of the later days have been really the precursors of the mechanical age and they have been successfully grinding down human minds into uniform paste. Their dictatorial attitude demands slavish acceptance of their word by the students. The ghosts of the commentators and the witchery of the grammar teacher haunt the class rooms. Is there any wonder that India lay enslaved? If there was no freedom of thought within the sacred precincts of a class room how could freedom thrive elsewhere? "Education with inert ideas is not only useless, it is above all things harmful". There is even now too much of cramming and too much of spoon-feeding even in our Honours courses—too much to be assimilated by any healthy mind. Even if digested the amount of adipose tissue which will result will be so much dread weight disfiguring the symmetrical beauty of the human mind, arresting all its free movement and leading on ultimately to disease and decay. After reading Graham Wallar's *Art of Thought,* one loses faith in the First Class Graduates of this 'ancient' regime'. Democracy thrives only in an age of creative thinking. Independent research alone can vivify our studies. Freedom of thought is the foundation and the crown of all cultural edifice. The rule of the dead letter should be exercised and the reign of the divine spirit should be worshipfully restored.

Instead of starting to discuss the problem of teaching grammar, in the lower classes, thus far, an attempt has been made to throw some light on the study of grammar in the Arts and Oriental Colleges. It is there the future teachers are nurtured. If the nursery itself is contaminated no growth can be expected. The right attitude should be developed and the right approach encouraged. Teaching can be symbolised by a triangle with the Teacher, the Student and the Subject as three corners where the Teacher and the Subject on one side and the Teacher and the Taught on the other are connected and where it is the aim of education to evolve the growth of a connection between the two points—the Subject and the Taught, through the magical influence of the Teacher. It is thus clear that the teacher makes or mars the future of the pupils. He is the guide, the friend and the philosopher. The West can boast of geniuses like Montessori, dedicating their lives to the cause of Child education. In spite of their missionary zeal and intensive work for more than a century, the world has not yet understood the full significance of their message that the future of civilisation depends upon the right kind of schools. Our civilisation wastes its energy in perfecting the atomic bomb rather than in perfecting its education.

The position here in India is extremely deplorable, in spite of the growth of the conception of Basic education. The educational service here more than anywhere else, commands no respect and attracts very few real men. The 'Higher Grade' teachers in the charge of the lower classes are but blind men leading the blind children. A band of missionaries of culture with a cosmopolitan outlook and universal love, inspired by a passion for the Tamil language, literature, country and civilisation is needed. We are in a sad plight with greater confidence in the brick and mortar, in the work-tables and black boards, in the books and methods than in man and his work. It is the teacher who has to vivify this dead matter and by the magic of his personality, make these stones and wood preach their sermon and sing their psalms, in unison with the dance and play of the infant lords of the future. Suggestion, sympathetic imagination and confidence are necessary in a teacher. Interest and enthusiasm are catching, and it is the teacher alone who can keep the interest in any subject burning. "A teacher should have a certain amount of natural eloquence, quickness of perception and appreciation of foreign character as well as an inte-

rest in all that concerns life"—(Dr. Munch). Palmer summarises the qualities and duties of a teacher of language—"The first qualifications of the expert teacher are a knowledge of the foreign language and of the students' natural tongue and the ability to organise the programme, to choose the appropriate material and the most appropriate means of conveying and of inculcating it. Another function of the teacher is to furnish explanations. The vehicular language for all explanatory matter should foster and encourage the pupils' capacities of visualisation by adopting for explanatory purposes the principle of visual correlation. Further functions of the teacher are, (a) To cause or to stimulate the pupils to work, (b) To give the pupils opportunities of hearing the language spoken and to act the part of the second person in a conversation, (c) To act as examiner to award marks and to correct errors. The teacher is to react against the vicious tendencies of studies." These quotations relate to the teacher of a foreign language where alone the teaching of grammar assumes an importance unknown elsewhere and therefore have to be modified to suit the requirements of a teacher of the mother tongue. Taught by men who do not know Tamil and who have become despondent because of their failure in life, the children feel no inspiration for any work but acquire wrong habits of expression which they cannot get rid of of all through their life.

James in his famous "Talks to Teachers" has once for all emphasised the necessity for developing the right kinds of habits in the children coming to educational institutions. Of these habits, we, speaking on grammar, are concerned only with the habits of expression. The tendency of the modern age of cinema is to make use of the eye more than the ear. Our civilisation honours the written letter more than the spoken word and strives after literacy rather than culture. In the three R's there is place for reading and writing but not for speaking which it was thought, requires no teaching. Our education has thus been sidetracked. The very term "the three R's" is the outcome of a commercial age. The plea for literacy is purely utilitarian and has resulted in manufacturing the quill drivers of bureaucracy. Speech is the reality and writing is but a shadow and a symbol. Good speech, as Patanjali has pointed out centuries back, is a sign of culture and good breeding. But we are ever liable to forget that "language is first and foremost

a spoken thing not a written thing"—(Ballard). Modern educational writers have realised that the correct method of teaching language and grammar is by teaching the child to speak. "If our aim is to learn to read, write and speak a living language, we shall be adopting not only the most natural but also the most direct and expeditious method of achieving these ends by concentrating in the first place on the mastery of spoken tongue"—(Kittson).

In these days of democracy when unity has to be developed as against parochialism, by abolishing all degarding colloquialism which brand the speaker with his caste or creed, the educational institutions, *in the absence of healthy family conditions, ought to teach the art of speaking more than anything else.* The child coming to the school does speak Tamil but that Tamil is so far removed from the standard Tamil, which is really for that very reason a foreign language to the child. The beginning is the important crisis. "Now you know", says Socrates, "that in every enterprise the beginning is the main thing especially dealing with a young and tender nature. For at that time it is most plastic and into it the stamp which it is desired to impress sinks deepest". The dialects and their knowledge are necessary for this approach. These ought to be approached with a sense of appreciation and reverence. The conception of corruption in a language ought to be forgotten. Slowly the standard dialect should be introduced.

It is very unfortunate that this natural method of education of the ear by concourse of sweet sounds begun under very good auspices at the cradle by the loving mother, singing endearing and soothing lullabies is not effectively continued in our educational institutions. That the mother is the greatest of teachers was forgoten and the social degradation of women sent the educationist to search for truths away from the home. The mother and the woman have once again to be installed on their domestic throne. The Classical tradition—a museum show—has blinded people to the virtues of a living language which came to be spoken of as a vernacular. Prakrit, Sanskrit and other classical languages which are no longer anybody's mother tongue are therefore knowledge subjects offering little scope for learning by doing. But in a living language the power of expression is a matter of skill; we learn by doing; it is therefore a skill subject in addition to being a knowledge subject; it is

therefore an art. There is no way of learning to swim except by swimming, and there is no way of learning a living language except by speaking it.

That no man hears his voice as others hear it, because he hears his voice through the bone of his head rather than through his ear alone, is not realised by many teachers, who therefore neglect to practise from early days the art of voice production and correct pronunciation. The child however is nothing, if not musical. Given the necessary ear training the intonation curves and musical patterns, the rhythm of prose, and the metre of poetry, are differentiated and enjoyed by the children. Poetic composition is really a child's play under those circumstances. Nor need any one despair of the child living in the slum learning the standard pronunciation; for the right form uttered even once by the inspiring teacher, who is in the eyes of these young ones a divine personality will outweigh the use of the colloquial forms though frequently uttered by his fellows of the slum. Of course, as already stated, no feeling of inferiority should arise in the child's mind about his particular dialect. The pronunciation of ḻ, ḷ, l, ṟ, r, ṉ, ṇ and n have to be drilled by phonetic exercises sung as chorus. It is very unfortunate that sections of even educated people holding the highest Degrees should not know the correct pronunciation of these letters. Phonetics is the first and most important chapter in any grammar worthy of that name. The ancient grammarians like Tolkappiyar have realised the necessity for phonetic training, for it is the first subject that they teach, though as our misfortune will have it, this healthy training was given up in later times.

The next thing to be done is to allow the child freely to talk. There is no use of interfering with the free flow of speech except by way of appreciation and by way of carrying on the conversation in the same way as the mother does, where what we call the subjective language and relative phrases come into full play. When the child is nervous of speaking out, correcting it at every step will only seal its mouth for all time to come. "Watering pot is more useful than the pruning fork". Therefore the wise teacher knows when to smile and when to frown with a great confidence in time, curing the linguistic aberrations. Therefore what is important is that the child should begin to talk however incorrect that speech may be. The

Slav proverb has it "Tko Zelidobro Govoriti Mora Natu Cati" i.e. "whoever wants to speak well, must murder the language." "The man who has killed a thousand, is half a doctor", so, says the Tamil proverb.

Teaching grammar at this stage is positively harmful and hence Herbert Spencer condemns the intensely stupid custom of the teaching of grammar to children. The grammatical rules only detract the child's attention from the meaning. Therefore one must cry with Jesperson "Away with lists and rules. Practise what is right, and again and again."

In the school the pupils are doing active and passive work. Palmer has insisted on the training of the sub-conscious.

There is a formless stage followed by a stage of system and co-ordination in the mental development of the child. Nature does not believe in economy. Soon after the development of the stage of system, learning ought to be treated as an art aiming at an economy of effort. Art and nature thus combined become infallible.

But what is the kind of teaching which one indulges in? A text book is usually prescribed and all kinds of studies are carried on with the help of that one Bible of the class. Every sentence is torn to bits. The child is given no time to enjoy the reading; in between the explanations the child has to write sentences of its own, apart from answering questions. Michael West has proved the necessity for teaching (1) Speaking, (2) Reading, (3) Oral composition, and (4) Written composition, as four different units. These are four distinct arts and have to be cultivated as such. Unfortunately this epoch-making discovery has not been utilised to the fullest extent in Tamil land. It is only when this system is followed that the child can become interested in understanding and expressing, and thus gaining pleasure.

Palmer has again emphasised the principles of segregation with teaching of language. "In order to exclude confusion and misunderstanding during the initial period of conscious study, the phonetic, orthographic, etymological, semantic and ergonic aspects of language must be segregated from each other and

taught independently. In the process of subconscious study and in the later periods of conscious study that segregation is neither possible nor desirable". This suggestion is given for the teaching of a foreign language and can be followed only in the higher grades. Too sharp a distinction however ought not be made between grammar and other linguistic usages. Grammatical rules of general application may serve to secure their observation. Co-ordination has its own place in the educational system as much as segregation. Grammar groups and compares, and when the child's mind is properly developed, it makes one consciously observe and understand the linguistic phenomena which have become already known and assimilated unconsciously by the student. What is wanted is not that the rules of grammar should be learnt by rote but the linguistic sense or the feel, which the Germans call the "sprachgefuhl" should be developed. The children should be given plenty of material to imitate not in a disconnected way unconnected with life; and the grammatical conscience will be developed unconsciously.

When the memorising of the cutrams is condemned, it is not because that one is against the past; for the past lives in the present, more than anywhere else, in language. It is an irrational method. The cutrams are mnemonic formulae. They ought not to be looked upon as divine revelations, self-explanatory and coercive. One must not forget that usage is the real sanction behind these grammatical rules. Nor is getting by heart to be condemned as intrinsically criminal. "Learning by heart is the basis of all linguistic study; for, every sentence ever uttered or written by anybody has either been learnt by heart in its entirety or else has been composed (consciously or subconsciously) from smaller units each of which must at one time have been learnt by heart"—(Palmer). Without verbal memory, enjoyment of literature is reduced to its minimum. There are certain things like the multiplication table, which have to be memorised, but, all in the course of practical usage, as Ballard has insisted with reference to the multiplication table itself. Drilling has therefore a place and it must be done with a completeness worthy of the study. It must be done so thoroughly that the child understands it fully. *Grammatical practices merely for the sake of grammar, without any ulterior literary or linguistic purpose, is positively harmful.* Often one gets a satisfactory result in the drill work, but the result is unfortunately

not carried to the actual speaking or writing. Such drills divorced from actual linguistic practice have to be completely eschewed.

All the objections to the teaching of grammar have arisen because of its dictatorial attitude, of its hairsplitting and meaningless distinctions, its wrong application of the Classical rules to the living language, the distaste for any study of literature which it engenders, the hollowness of its exclusive claim to a mental discipline, its futility as a guide to correct speech and writing, and its pretensions as the true keeper of the linguistic conscience. Therefore the grammarians of the present day, have scaled down their claim to an acceptable minimum. The magical properties of the grammatical rule which when once discovered was supposed to safeguard the learner from further error are admitted to be superstitions. Modern Grammar points out only very simple and clear distinctions. Multitudinous exercises are avoided. Grammar is said to encourage mental discipline not standing alone but along with many other subjects of study. Instead of insisting upon its indispensability, grammarians are satisfied with the plea that formal grammar is not after all completely useless; it at least helps one to have a connected idea about language. It is conceded that the rules of grammar should be taught only in the higher grades. Co-ordination in linguistic studies is now insisted on. Terms such as subject, predicate and object which are comprehensive and interesting to children to discern, need alone be taught, and even then, as and when they are required for a correct understanding and appreciation of a speech or a writing, through an an analysis of a live speech.

Of the heuristic, inductive and deductive methods, it is now agreed that the most effective method under particular circumstances should be used without giving up the practice method. It is no longer logic but psychology that guides the teaching of grammar. Language is a living thing, dealing with real things and a right understanding of the nature of language is necessary to lay down the right principles of study. Grammar is therefore no longer our dictator but our servant helping the building up of a standard judgement. It is granted by the modern grammarians that reflective analytical knowledge of the mother tongue is being built up as a factor in writing and reading. An accumulation of grammatical facts in such studies

kindles a natural interest in words, their life, their composition and their varying colour of connotation and denotation; and when once that interest is kindled, the anatomy and physiology of language becomes a fascination (Wyatt, Chubb, Carpenter, Baker and Scott).

Therefore modern grammar is expected to be a natural grammar without tears. Gouin's grammatical method is an example. In spite of this, the very name of grammar has become repulsive. "But cannot even Dame Grammatical be made attractive to the minds of the young?" asks Karl Breul and answers "I think she can and I have no doubt that everything depends on the way in which a teacher introduces her to the children". The playway method has revolutionised education in these institutions where it is followed. Mr. Cook's book has become a classic. Mr. Ryburn in his book has worked out an interesting and practical scheme of graded linguistic games for Indian conditions. He has provided for the Hide and Seek, Card games, Telegram, Matching and Completion games, Choice games, Word building and Sentence building games and a host of other games which will all sustain the interest of children.

Palmer gives various interesting exercises and games, one of which, the living ergonics is really an interesting dramatic hit. It is now agreed that sentence must be taught as a unit and that various model sentences should be learnt as so many frame works in which other words or phrases should be fixed in, by what is now familiar to every teacher as the substitution method. Every model sentence is then enacted, each pupil playing in the appointed order, the role of a part of speech therein, coming in with his smaller or larger groups of phrases and clauses. Then each pupil will recite his or her special word and go on substituting, after every act of sentence is finished. In spite of Jesperson's 'Analytical Syntax' and Palmer's book emphasising the ergonics, no attempt has been made to prepare an ergonic chart for Tamil.

Though the whole programme for the linguistic games had been completely chalked out, in all its detail, by these eminent writers, whose books are familiar to every teacher worthy of the name, very few institutions in Tamil land can boast of follow ing this playway method. The great problem is to conquer the apathy of the teacher. Mental tests have rarely been used for purposes of diagnosis and prognosis.

"Linguists no longer deem themselves as arbiters of speech but simply as recorders of usage"—(Whitney). Not even satisfied with this, Ballard and others who are anxious that the language should be stopped from changing for the worse, feel that this can be done successfully, only when the science of composition take the place of grammar. Tolkāppiyar had already paved the way for this. His book cannot be looked upon as grammar or vyakarana; it can be described only as a treatise on the science and art of composition and literary appreciation. Therefore it ought not to be difficult to follow this path, for any diligent student of Tamil who has undergone any useful course in *Tolkāppiyam*. Tiruvaḷḷuvar when he speaks of 'eḻuttu' as the eye, must have had this art and science of composition in his mind.

Merely listening to the word of a teacher is not enough; one has to learn by doing. The Playway education, the Project Method and the Dalton Plan are therefore very important. Mutual discussions among students, the practical use of things learnt for instance in teaching to others make one's education perfect, according to the views held by the ancient Tamilians, as is made clear by the following verses:

"ācāṉ kūṟiyavai amaivarak koḷiṉum
kāṟ kūṟallatu paṟṟalaṉākum
avviṉaiyāḷa roṭu payil vakai orukāl
cevvitiṉuraippa avvirukālum
maiyaṟu pulamai māṉpuṭaittām."

"If a student grasps what all the teacher has taught, he will have command only over 25%; if he moves in addition with other students, thirsting for knowledge, the gains a further 25% and when he successfully teaches, he gains the remaining 50% and his erudition becomes then flawless and great."

Students should be given more responsibility, and greater initiative should be encouraged. The science of composition has to take all these truths into consideration. According to Ballard, the function of the oral composition lesson is to train for public speaking and public debate. Who can deny the importance of public speaking in this age of Democracy? Any camp fire will open one's eyes to the immense possibilities in a child approached in the proper way.

The making of a writer ought to be the next great aim or education. We perfect ourselves by correctly expressing our thoughts. But to-day it is not so much the creative inspiration as the examination fever that is the characteristic feature of the class room. Few teachers have learnt the art of the new examiner. The child has to write a composition on the spur of the moment, without striking out any letter. The composition has to come out of the young brain as perfect as Minerva coming out of the head of Jupiter. Even a Shakespeare and a Newman will be condemned as dullards by our pedagogues. Ballard therefore speaks of the "art to blot" and emphasises preparation, revision and self-criticism. The truth of this point of view can be verified by any one who cares to go through a mauscript magazine of any school, as contrasted with ordinary student exercise books, containing interesting tit-bits, short stories, descriptions of camp pictures, all neatly and elegantly done and thus revealing what can be done when once the interests of the children are arounsed. That is how creative art is developed. There is here no spirit of competition which rules our world; it is all a co-operative effort of the New Age.

Sir Philip Hartog therefore rightly condemns the present unnatural educational formula of writing anything about something for anybody which therefore supplies no incentive to write. Writing is both a record and a message and therefone the first principle of Hartog is that the writer must have the audience in his mind. The second principle is that a skeleton should be prepared before writing the essay. The third principle is that the child should mark its exercises after discussion with the teacher. Thus the creative and critical faculties are developed along with the grammatical conscience without any exercises in formal grammar. "The habit of mental alertness and vigilance so engendered is of vital importance in a democracy"—(Ballard). It is in this spirit that the old Tamil poem speaks of this art of composition leading on to the greatest freedom.

"eḻuttaṛiyat tīrum iḻitakai mai tīrntāṉ
moḻit-tiṛattiṉ muṭṭaṛuttāṉ ākum—moḻittiṛattiṉ
muṭṭaṛutta nallōṉ mutaṉūṛ poruḷuṇarntu
kaṭṭaṛuttu vīṭu peṛum."

11. The Portuguese Influence Reveated by Tamil Words[1]

Tamil language is considered to be very pure and holy. It is true she resists the easy flow of foreign streams into her main current but no living language can altogether flow continuously along her meandering route without her level rising through such tributaries. The statement, "East is East, West is West and the twain shall never meet", is falsified even by this language of purity. The earliest language of the West with which Tamil came into contact was the Portuguese and the words borrowed therefrom reveal to us the history of the Portuguese contact with Tamil land. It is indeed a very interesting history. Dalgado who is an authority on the subject truly remarks "But, when perchance, Portuguese shall have ceased to be spoken in the East, the words from the beautiful tongue of Camoens adopted and naturalised in a hundred and one of the vernaculars themselves, endure and stand as living and abiding monuments of the Portuguese dominion and civilization, in these parts". A study like the present one has to be carried out within the historical background.

Too much impressed by the rule of the West it is often forgotten that the pendulum once had swung to the other side in the Middle Ages when the East conquered the West and that the present conditions are to a certain extent the national reaction to the pendulum trying to over reach its limits at that time. The Muslim influence extended as far as Spain. Their culture harmonised in a way the teaching of the Koran, the Vedanta, the Greek philosophy, the Indian mathematics and the Mediaeval Christian thought, and paved the way for the modern age of Roger Bacon and Dante. The Muslims created a taste for spices and other articles of civilization of the East. They controlled the high seas and together with that the Eastern trade. The West was dazzled by the glamour of this trade. It revolted against the Muslims and attempted to capture that trade and to rule the seas. Thus began the conquest of the East by the West.

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Vascoda Gama the navigator, Francis Xavier the saint, Camoens the poet have made India glorious in the eyes of the West, ushering in the modern epoch of the direct contact with the East. In 1460 Portugal was but a petty Iberian principality. But by 1521 it became the first and foremost imperial power of world wide fame. The lightning speed of this rise is indeed a marvel. In 1497 Vascoda Gama sailed to India which he reached next year. Returning home in 1499 he was on his second voyage in 1502. His acts of piracy and pillage were authorised by letters of Marque in 1505. The Portuguese Viceroyalty of India was first founded in 1507. These activities against the Muslims had a religious background. "Their mission was to find spices and Christians." The Franciscan friars came to India in 1517. Vascoda Gama died as the Viceroy of Portuguese India in 1524. The Portuguese brought the East Indian Archipelago also under their influence. The Zamorin and the Sultan of Guzemet who welcomed them regretted their step very soon. The Portuguese who first mistook a Hindu temple for a Christian church and prayed therein, later on razed the temples of Goa to the ground. Francis Xavier arrived in India in 1542 and died in the East in 1552 after a crowded life of piety and service. Next year saw the poet Camoens sailing to India only to be thrown into a common goal in Goa "with walls mouldering and growing vermines," and this had made him realise the true inward view of the Portuguese rule. "You may say of the country" he wrote "that she is a mother to the vilest rogues and a step mother to men of honour." The hero of his poem is the transfigured Vascoda Gama, an ideal picture, full of ambition, chivalry, valour and adventure, always appealing to the noble heart of Portugal.

In the beginning, for overthrowing the Moors, the Portuguese depended on their control of the high seas, goaded on by their spirit of adventure and courage and lured by the riches of the East. These qualities were not enough for consolidating an empire after its conquest. The ultimate downfall of their empire was hastened by the dazzling luxury of her sons in the vast emporiums of the East with their extensive commercial relations. Their mixed marriages and religious intolerance quickened the rate of their decline and fall. In 1555 the Jesuits gained control of the Portuguese church and selected Goa as their second headquarters outside Rome, soon after the founda-

tion of their order. "Ecclesiastical supremacy sapped the financial resources and undermined the civil administration." In 1556, Dharma Pala, the Prince of Ceylon, was converted by them without showing any respect for the feelings of the people of the island. In 1560 the Inquest of Goa was established. Albuquerque and his successors never interfered with the customs of the people, but after the advent of Franciscans, the temples were destroyed and the cordial relations gave place to hatrel. 1580 saw the beginning of the Spanish captivity. With the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the possibility of a Portuguese empire disappeared and the English 'sea-dogs' became the rulers of the high seas. That, in short, is the history of the Portuguese, nothing more than a flash of lighting.

Short though this period be, her influence on the people, race, custom and languages of the East was great. The Eastern civilization was enriched by her introduction of new objects including flora and fauna and by her promotion of agriculture, industries and religion.

The Portuguese influence may be looked upon as the embodiment of the spirits of Albuquerque, Vascoda Gama, Francis Xavier and Camoens. Albuquerque represents the colonial policy of the Portuguese based on their equalitarian and fusionist doctrine. Sir E. Denson Ross whilst pointing out that "the great Albuquerque probably foresaw that the constant drain on the male population of a relatively small country like his own, must ultimately lead to a shortage of manpower, looks upon the mixed marriages encouraged by Albuquerque as bringing out the downfall of the Portuguese. Dalgado, however, thinks otherwise. "The discerning mind of Albuquerque" he writes, "found no better means of knitting together the East and the West and of consolidating the Empire which he was founding than by the fusion of the conquerors and the conquered and towards this end he concentrated all his efforts." (Joa de Barnes, Dec. II, V). Necessary precautions were taken by Albuquerque against the degeneration of the marital relations. In the commentaries of Albuquerque we read, "And already at this time there were in Goa four hundred and fifty married men, all servants of His Majesty the King and the Queen and of the Lords of Portugal, and those who wished to marry were so numerous that Alfenso de Albuquerque could hardly grant their requests, for he did not give permission except for the men of

proved character to marry" (Hak. Sec. Vol. III p. 41). The sub-committee on Colonial Politics of the Geographical Society of Lisbon writes in praise of this policy "In the matter of (Colonial) principles, Portugal was the first country which knew to formulate them in a manner calculated to bring about by a policy of assimilation between the conquerors and the conquered, and without useless severity and futile tyranny, the progress and civilization of the most backward regions." "The Portuguese have always been in this matter tolerant and this is one of the great qualities of colonisers and they would never think it a disgrace to contract marriage alliance with the high castes of India, the people with the purest Aryan blood in their veins" (Conde de Ficalho—Garcia de orta eo sewtempo p. 169). As a result, where they were well received they associated themselves with the natives of the country who in their turn accompanied them in their voyage, so much so, that even all the crews of their ships were Indians, either Mohammadans or Hindus (Poyard de Laval Hak. Soc. Vol. I. P. 483), a secret which the Dutch and the British did not then understood.

The mixed marriages have been looked upon from two contradicting points of view, one looking upon it as the root cause of the decline and fall of the Portuguese empire and the other looking upon it as the soundest Colonial policy. It is therefore very interesting to find out how these mixed marriages were looked upon by the Tamilians. In this connection the word *paṛaṅki* is important. During the Crusades the Freneh, the Franks, took a prominent part and their name came to stand generally for the Westerners. But the peoples who came first in great numbers to India were the Portuguese and these were called the Franks or Parangi or Firangi by the Indians. Therefore wherever the word *Paṛaṅki* occurs one may be sure of the Portuguese influence. The term *Paṛaṅki* in later times, as meaning a hybrid race, had become a term of abuse. This was a condemnation of the policy of Albuquerque encouraging the Portuguese to take Indian wives. There must have been very many great leaders born of such intermarriages but as is usual, it was only the despicable misalliances that left an impression in the minds of the people. It was another misfortune that this word *Paṛaṅki* was confused owing to the operation of the folk etymology, with another word Branco, meaning a particular kind of venereal disease, which assumed the same form *Paṛaṅki* in Tamil and besame by a process of semantic expan-

sion the general name for all venereal diseases, giving rise to such terms as *Paraṅkippuṉ Paraṅkiviraṇam*, *Paraṅki Viyāti* venereal sore, venereal disease, etc. It is this confusion in the mind of the Tamils that is responsible for the contempt they have for those whom they call *Paraṅki*. Promiscuous life led by some of the dregs of the society had left this impression in the mind of the Tamil people. Here is an example. It is significant what kinds of words are borrowed. The word 'Amancabada' originally meaning one who lives with a mistress, came to be introduced as a euphemism for a pimp and this word took the form 'masabado' in the Indian Portuguese dialect of Ceylon where from the Tamils of Jaffna and other places got the word *"massaradu"* In the beginning of the 17th century itself the word *Paraṅki* had become a term of abuse. Father Martinz writes in 1639 "The Portuguese of the coast by wounding the susceptibilities and prejudice of this people bring on themselves a contempt which rebound on religion." Father Robert de Nobili therefore deprecated others calling him a Parangi. One of the charges levelled against him by the hostile Jesuits was his simulation in declining the name of *Paraṅki*.

There is another form of the word Frank already alluded to Viz. *Paraṅki*. The word *Paraṅki* is derived by the Tamil Lexicon of the Madras University from a Portuguese word *Firangi*. This is evidently wrong; for the great scholar Dalgado looks upon it as a corrupt form of the word Frank. 1945 has revealed the West to the East as the spirit of the atomic bomb and in the middle ages though the East might have known the power of gunpowder and fireworks, it looked upon the West as the spirit behind the cannon. This word explains the easy success won by the Portuguese and the spirit of military valour embodied in the Portugusse influence. The word *cāppu* a gunlock, from the Portuguese *chapa* and *Koraṭā* the horse whip from the word *Corde* tell the same tale.

But there was a time when the term *Paraṅki* had not thus suffered this semantic degneration. The names of places and things bear this out e.g. *Paraṅkipēṭṭai*, *Paraṅkimalai*, *Paraṅkittalai* 'pineapple', *Paraṅkikkāy* 'pumpkin,' *Paraṅkikkūrmai* 'a mineral poison' *Paraṅkiccilai* or a kind of black stone, *Paraṅkipāshāṇam* 'a mineral poison' *Paraṅkiyaṇinuṇā* 'a kind of tree' *Paraṅivarākaṉ* 'a gold coin of Porto Novo', 'Paraṅkivāḷai' 'Red' 'Costate leaved banana' or Rastalai, *Paraṅkivēl* 'Jerusalam-thorn'

Paraṅkivaippu 'prepared arsenic or the method of preparing arsenic'. The substitution of arsenic is the prominent characteristic feature of the Siddhanta system of medicine and the influence of the Moors and the Portuguese may be seen therein. The pumpkin, the pine apple, the rastalai, the Jerusalam thorn together with a few mineral poisons were the earliest gifts of the Portuguese to the Tamil land. Those names represent the first stage of Portuguese influence. Before the Portuguese vocables themselves were absorbed, the articles of the new civilization came to be named after the race which brought them. This explains the influence of the Portuguese as the nation which brought those objects of civilization to India and to Tamil country.

We may pause for a while at this stage, to consider a doubt that may arise in this connection. The Portuguese came into contact with Western India, with Calicut, Goa and Diu. How the Tamil language of Eastern India came to be influenced by them is an interesting problem. For one thing, the Portuguese conquering Ceylon came into direct contact with the Tamils of that island and many of the Portuguese words are found only in the dictionaries of Jaffna. "Free intercourse further between the Coromandel Coast and the Eastern Archipelago is very ancient and when the Portuguese first appeared at Malacca, they found there numerous settlers from South India." That way also the contact with the Tamil developed. The Jesuits of Goa, even after the political influence of Portugal had disappeared, wielded a very great influence through their missions. Lastly Portuguese settlement in Eastern India was not known. Those places in whose names the word Parangi occurs, as already hinted, may be looked upon as Portuguese settlements.

Two places found in the lists of the villages in the Madras Presidency are named after the *Paraṅki* or the Portuguese, viz., *Paraṅkimalai* or St. Thomas Mount and *Paraṅkippēṭṭai* or Porto Novo. *Paraṅkimalai* is traditionally associated with the Apostle, St. Thomas. In 1522 a Portuguese settlement was founded at San Thome, Madras. It became a great centre of trade as is borne out by the evidence of Casade Frederic, who visited it in 1565. It came to be strongly fortified. The fabric imported into Europe from this Indian city of San Thome was called "Santomejima" thus leaving an undoubtable trace in the lan-

guage of the ancient intercourse. The Pope in 1607 made it a separate diocese. In 1522 the Viceroy of Goa appointed an agent for the Coromandel Coast. The old Cathedral at San-Thome was ordered to be repaired and restored to its original condition by the king of Portugal. Luz Church even now bears the coat of arms of Franciscans whose influence in shaping the Portuguese history had already been mentioned. This church was seen by Gasparad Balhi in 1582 by which date it must have come into existence. An excavation at the Mount revealed the Bleeding Cross, over which a church came to the built. According to Correa, for helping mariners on their voyage to know of the adjacent coast, a beacon fire was lighted every night on the Mount and that was necessitated by the numerous Portuguese ships coming to that place.

The other place is Porto Novo, the new port of the Portuguese, which is still known as *Paraṅkipēṭṭai* 'the city of the Parangie's The original name of this place was Mohammadan Bandar which the Portuguese must have wrested from the hands of the Moors who had settled there, making it a centre of their trade with the Far East. Herein one finds the trace of the original feud between the Moors and the Portuguese thus preserved in the names of this intersting place. In connection with the struggle against the Moors the names of the Parava community, still prominent in the Tinnevelly coast is important. They were occupying in the 16th century a small streak of land along the south eastern shore under the petty rulers of the times exempted from all tributes and payments. They assembled at every pearl fishery with dignity and pomp. This is according to the report sent by Van Reede, the commandant of the coast of Malabar and Canara and Laurens Pajh, the senior merchant and chief of the sea ports of Madura. The institution of these offices show clearly the importance of the contact of the Portuguese with the East Coast. The Paravas were thus the masters of pearl fisheries from very early times. But about the year 1530 the Moors became their rivals. Therefore they appealed to the Portuguese for help and one of them had been to Lisbon. They became Christians in return for the help offered by the Portuguese. Probably it was in the course of this fight with the Moors that the Portuguese captured Muhammadan Bandar and converted it into a settlement of their own, whilst an agent for the Coromandal Coast had been appointed earlier. It was

here that the Paraṅki Varākāṉs were issued as the then current coin. Thus is explained the origin of the Portuguese influence on Tamil land.

The first stage of Portuguese influence is thus revealed by those words, which name the objects foreigners brought, after the Parangis. The second stage was reached when the Portuguese words themselves came to be used. One can form a verbal hierarchy or a gopuram of tiers remaining broad at the bottom and becoming a point at the top where the lowest strata will be representing the terms of common parlance, where the next will consist of those expressions exclusively used by the Christians, whereas the highest will be confining itself to those words known to the educated classes alone in the cities and used in their original Portuguese forms themselves without being Tamilised as in the case of the other two lower strata. The dictionaries will help one to find only the words which have gained common currency and even these technical names are not usually included. The Tamil Lexicon was prepared before Dalgado's famous work on the "Portuguese Vocable in Asiatic Language" appeared in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series in 1936. Nor was it possible for Dalgado to use the Tamil Lexicon which was published after his work was in print. Therefore, it is necessary to study both the works for arriving at a reliable list of Portuguese vocables in the Tamil language. This task has been much simplifield, thanks to the publication of these two monumental works.

The colonial empire of the Portuguese was built on the foundation of intermarriage and religion. The result of the former has been traced and the influence of the religion remains to be studied. This influence represents the spirit of Francis Xavier. "The Portuguese colonisers in preference to all other methods made use of religious propaganda as the most effective and enduring way of introducing their culture" (Dalgado). The spirit of toleration shown by their policy of intermarriage was never found in their religious policy which was equally responsible for the unpopularity of the Portuguese along with the intermarriage. There was therefore great opposition from the Portuguese to the new method of Robert de Nobili and Beschi of living like Hindu Sanyasins and Christianising India without prejudice to her time honoured traditions. The influence of

Nobili and Beschi minimised the use of foreign terms and inspired the coining of new Tamil words. But the Portuguese were against this healthy move. Portuguese was spoken by many in Ceylon and this accounts for the great number of words current in and around Jaffna. The Jesuits had made Goa their citadel outside Rome and all the Missionaries whether Portuguese in origin or not had assumed Portuguese ways of life. This explains the preparation of the dictionary of Portuguese and Tamil by Beschi, Gonsalvez and others. There were a number of things and thoughts in the new religion for which there were no Tamil equivalents well known to the people at large. This made possible the introduction of many Portuguese terms. Their intolerant spirit could not look upon with equanimity the use of pagan Tamil words for their spiritual objects and ideas, which they never desired to be confounded with Hinduism or Mohammadanism lest any one should trace the resembalances between these great religions.

The names of eccleciastical dignitaries of Church vestments and vessels, of ceremonies and liturgical festivities are mainly of Portuguese origin. Dalgado gives, in a foot note in his book, a series of Portuguese words used only by the Tamil Christians, which he himself had not included in the list of Portuguese vocables. Therefore it is clear that they have not gained currency. The list is given here as throwing light on the things of Portuguese origin. 'Anito' meaning 'amice' 'alva' meaning 'alt', 'cordio' meaning 'cord', 'casule' meaning 'chasuble' 'dalmatico' meaning 'dalmatic', maniple, estola meaning stole, capa meaning cope, calix meaning the chalice, patena meaning the patena, tolsa, pala, corporal Saguinho meaning a little cloth with which the priest wipes the chalice after receivig the sacrament, cota meaning the surplice, hostia or octu meaning the host, particul meaning the water; missal, rituol, estante or *istāntai* meaning the reading desk, altar, 'cruz' meaning the sacrements, turibulo meaning the censor, naveta meaning the incence pan, caldeirinha, galheta meaning the cruet, palio meaning the canopy carried over the sacrament in procession, 'Sotaine' meaning the routine and loba meaning the eassock are listed by G. Dalgado.

There were other words referring to the religious practices, which were comparatively of greater frequency. The names of

authorities like *pispu* from Bispo meaning Bishop, *pātiri* and *pātiriyār* from Padre meaning a Christian missionary, *pāppu* or *Pōppanṭavar* from papa meaning Pope, *Vikāri* from Vigario meaning vicar, 'appōstalan' or 'appōstalaman from the word Apostolo meaning an apostle, *cāmatār* from Chamador meaning one who calls a subordinate church official are Portuguese vocables. So are the names of religious relationship like *kumpātiri* from compadre meaning godfather, *kumātiri* from comadra meaning godmother, *kiṟistavan* from Cristo meaning Christian, *micān* and *miciyānār* from missao and missionario meaning respectively mission and missionary and 'kattōlic' from Catolice meaning a Catholic. From the Portuguese were borrowed the names of articles and places of religion such as *ātiru* from adro meaning a Churchyard, *alūtār* from Altar, *kapalai* from capala meaning a chapal, *kurucu* from cruz meaning a cross, *pulpitu* from pulpito meaning a pulpits, *kasticāl* from castical meaning a candle stick, *cakkāri* from sacrano meaning the Tabernacle, *ceeminari* from seminario meaning a seminary, *cemittarai* from cemetaris meaning cemetry, 'tōcā' from tocha meaning a torch. The names of vestments etc. like *pāti* from Palio, *cutūn* and *opā* from Solaina and opa all meaning a long robe and thorsu from Terco meaning a third of the Rosary, are all of Portuguese origin. The names of rites and festivals of Christianity such as *karasmai* from quarasma meaning the lent, natal from Natal meaning the Christmas, 'nōvaḷai' or *navanāḷ* from Noverra meaning the nine days of devotion, *vespar* from Vespers, *cakramanṭu* from sacremanto, *cakristi* from sacristo, *cakristān* from sacrcao, *kompicān* from Confissao meaning a confession, *kommuniyan* from communhao meaning communcn, *kirismai* from crisme meaning the sacrement of confirmation, *miriñ* from meiranho meaning sacristan the their usage in Tamil points to the influence of Portuguese. Words of religious usage like *ispiritucantu* from Espirito Santo meaning the Holy Ghost, *veñcaḷpāratu* from Benze meaning to bless, are also of Portuguese origin.

The missionaries were responsible for the promotion of learning and the Portuguese language gave us many a word in this connection. The letter of Albuquerque clearly proves that he never forgot the education of children. "In Cochin" he writes "I came across a primary school where children are taught and I thought that Your Highness would not allow the children to rot now that they are in the school and I therefore gave

orders that all of the men who had contracted marriage here should teach the children to read and write; there will be an attendance at the school of nearly one hundred youths and they are the children of the Panikars (teachers) and other honest men; the youths are very sharp and take in what is taught them and that very quickly and they are all Christians." 'Antoneo Galro saw to it that the children were taught religious doctrine and to read and write Tamil in six months and prepared a grammar and a glossary therein to the great advantage of the Portuguese priests. He was the author of the first printed Tamil book. Father Francis Xavier founded a college and Robert de Nobili wrote books for the use of children. No wonder, many words of Portuguese origin came into Tamil in this connectiou. The word for paper or letter *kaṭatāci* comes from the Portuguese word cartaj. Though the word *iskūl* is due to the English influence the other form *iṅkōlai* is derived from the Portuguese word "Estola" *pēṉā* with its final vowel has to be derived from the Portuguese word 'peno' and not from the English word pen which has no final vowel ; *tintu* meaning ink is from the Portuguese 'tint'.

In this connection one must not forget the influence of the Jesuits on the development of poetry and literature. This influence represents the spirit of Camoens. Beschi and others have written poems in Tamil and in Tamil prose, theology and other subjects. The influence of Portuguese poetry on this kind of literature has to be studied. The history of the discovery of Portuguese conquests is the history of the spread of the Portuguese language which came to be regarded as the language of the Christians and the lingua franca of the East. It was an influence wholly singular and without parallel in that it has become and continued long after the disappearance of the Portuguese empire, the mother tongue of even the indigenous population without a drop of Portuguese blood, and the commercial and religious language of the Europeans in the East. The chiefs of the South and West Ceylon perpetuated with pride the honorific title "Don" accorded to them by their first European conquerors and still prefix to their ancient patronyms the sonorous Christian names of the Portuguese.

Dr. Heigligars writes "with regard to the influence on the customs of the indigenous people it is enough to say that since the very beginning Portuguese missionaries preached Christianity

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and founded Christian schools. It is unnecessary to add that the work of these missionaries introduced at the same time the first elements of European civilization, and their views of the conquerors in respect of indigenous customs began to be mellowed under the influence of Christianity." One may pass on to consider the promotion of Eastern civilisation by the Portuguese Empire of trade and religion. This influence of trade may be said to represent the spirit of Vascoda Gama.

The Portuguese were successful to start with, because of their sea power and consequently one may expect many of their nautical terms finding their way into Tamil *ammār* or *amār* in Tamil denotes a cable of a ship and is the Tamil pronunciation of the Portuguese word amarra. *Vattal* means a small boat and this is a corruption of the Portuguese Batel. *kampattu* is a leakage in a ship and 'kampattuppārttal' is to repair it. These terms are derived from "gamote". *kalapaparrati* comes from catefate and means "to caulk".

The next group of words speaks of the commerce and industries of the Portuguese and also of their ultimate political government. Ambar they imported into India. *Tampākku* from Tumbak, is an alloy of copper and zinc introduced into Tamil country. Their military terms have already been referred to and therefore we can confine ourselves to their civil government. *cittār* from the Portuguese word Citar denotes the summons issued by the Court of Law. It is very rarely that a verb is formed from a foreign word and when one finds any such verb one may safely conclude that the foreign origin had been forgotten. *Cittārittal* is to file a suit. This *cittār* is also pronounced as *catār* from which one gets the term *catār ceytal* to serve the summons. *Iraiyāl* and its subsequent corruptions *iraicāl* came from the Portuguese word real which denotes in and around Jaffna a coin of Ceylon equivalent to 1 sh. 6 d. *Irāttal*, the pound weight, is derived from the word arrate. *Ilāccam* from Lashi means a dry measure and a space of land one foot by 18 feet. *ēlam* meaning auction sale, comes from the word Leileo. Though ultimately it has to be traced to the Arabic, the word was brought into currency by the Portuguese who sold out their possessions in an auction sale every time they were transferred from their office and the phrase, *ēlam kūrutal* has become a term of common parlance. Some of the names of the uthorities are of Portuguese origin. *Pēskār* comes from

Fiscal denoting an Inspector or Superintendent. *Pirecentu* comes from President, though in this case, the influence of the English word President cannot be denied. 'Ticōrēri' from Tesaureus means treasurer. *āya* is the nurse or the lady's maid. This is derived from the Portuguese word aia. It has nothing to do with the other word *āyāḷ* meaning a grandmother. *Mēstiri* comes from Mastre and means an overseer and a master tailor. The Portuguese word for writer or a scrivener is Escrivao and the Tamil form is *iskirivāṉ*. It is claimed that *turukkam* in the sense of a prison comes from the Portuguese word Tranco. *Turukkam* means in Tamil a fortified and guarded place, the influence of the Portuguese word hastening this change of meaning.

Some of the objects which the Portuguese introduced into Tamil land, as we already saw, were named after them ; 'parankittāḷai' is the pine apple. It came originally from Brazil where its native name was 'nanas' which became 'ananas' in the Portuguese. This became further corrupted in Tamil into *aṉṉāci* or *aṉāci*. *Cavvātu* is the sasana, a bitter plant. *Cappāttukaḷḷi* comes from sabot, a plant. *Aruvatā* or *arūtā* is from arruda a plant. *Vattākku* or *pattākku* meaning a watermelon is from pateca. *Attā* from ata is custard apple. 'koyyāppaḷam is from Coiaba and its other name *pērai* is derived from Pera. 'Kācupaḷam' meaning cashew nut fruit is from caju. The cabbage is spoken of as *Kovicu* or 'Kōcu' in Tamil evidently from the Portuguese word couve. *Pappāy* or *Pappāḷi* is from the word Papala which the Portuguese have borrowed from Malaya. Thus some of the popular fruits like papaia, custard apple, pine apple, water melon, Gueva and cashewnut and vegetables like, cabbage are the gifts of the Portuguese. Coffee is sometimes claimed to have been introduced by the Portuguese, but the credit must go to the Arabs who, having known the plant coffa from Abyssinia, popularised it as a stimulant 'aqahua' or wine whose injurious effects came to be mitigated by mixing milk with it. But it was as early as 1782 a Portuguese. Father Clemens Da Resurneicao that wrote of the commercial possibilities of a coffee plantation. Agriculture and horticulture received a great impetus at the hands of the Portuguese. "The existence of the Goa mangoes is stated to be due to the care and skill of the Jesuits" and to this day one of the best varieties of mango is called Goa in Tamil.

It is said that the fauna of the East was enriched, thanks to the Portuguese by the addition of many specimens till then unknown. Though the other languages fully bear out this claim, in Tamil we find only two words. One is *kakkalāttu* from calcallacca meaning the cockroach. The other is much more important since it has led to the development of the poultry yard, *Vāttu* or *Bāttu* which are reared every where in South India owe their introduction and name to the Portuguese. The word comes from Pato.

The eatables appeal to our palate; but the names of the dishes are rarely listed in any dictionary. The Tamilian to-day daily enjoys the Hindustani sweets Badusha, and Suratkari. But these find no place in any dictionary. Most of the Portuguese terms of cookery are current only among the Christian population. *Alamāntu* from alamondego is a ball of meat. *Acātu* from assadu means the roast meat. *Pīpi* is from Bufe ; but this word probably is derived from English beef. *Karuvāṭu* derived from cravado means a salt fish. *Palaccām* from Balchao is a species of caviare ; *kucttu* is a corrupt form of the word Cozido denoting the boiled meat. Molai, a corruption of the Malay term, refers to a sauce. *Cūppu* is said to be derived from sopa. But it is much more natural to derive it from the English word soup. 'Tōcai' is from Doce ; but the original word meant a sweet dainty. Probably by a process of semantic extension it has come to mean any rice cake. 'Pōḷu' from bolo means a cake. It is not clear whether this has anythying to do with 'pōḷi' *Callāttu* is derived from saladu and means salad, *temparat* is from Temperado and means a vegetable stew, for which there is another word in Tamil *tappaḷam* derived from Vinhade alhos and is a preparation wherein no water is used. Is *piṭlu* a further corruption of this word ? *vicukkaṉ* means biscuits and is derived from the Portuguese word ' biscoito '. 'Rōlam' from Ralao is flour. *Cupparici* is derived from the urdu form 'sabu'. *Javvu* or *Javvarici* is said to be derived from the Malayan word Sagu introduced by the Portuguese. Folk etymology connected this *jav* with *javvu* 'the 'membrane', and therefore the form '*javvarici*' has become more popular. 'Kirāmpu' or 'karāmpu' the clove is derived from cravo. Among the beverages, mention had already been made of coffee. Tea is known as *cā* and this name is derived from the Portuguese word 'Cha' and *pulai* a teapot is derived from the word 'Bule'. The dinner plate, we are old, is sometimes spoken of by the Tamil Christian as *pāci* a

corruption of the Portuguese word Bacia. The word for cup in Tamil is 'kōppai' it is derived from 'copa'. Piricu is saucer and is derived from Pires a corruption of a Malayan word. The name for the word cook *Kuci̱ni* is derived from Cozinhe. Thus the taste of the Christian population was influenced by the Portuguese to a great extent.

The people who prided in assuming the Portuguese names like Don will not be slow to imitate the dress of the Portuguese. *Cakalāttu* meaning a woolen shirt, comes through Urdu, though not mentioned by Dalgado, from the Portuguese word escarlata. *Cappāttu* and *Cappāttukkaṭṭai* meaning shoes are derived from Capato, 'Mejōṭu' meaning socks is a combination of two words me and 'jōṭu'; 'jōṭu' means a pair and a covering for the feet. *Mē* is a corruption of the Portuguese word meia, meaning socks. Chenala is the Portuguese word for slippers and this occurs in the form of *Ci̱nalai* in Tamil. So much for the foot wear. But in passing it may be pointed out that the borrowing has not been on all one side. Our Tamil word *Ceruppu*, the sandals, have been carried to Europe by the Portuguese and we have the form Chiripos.

The trousers were known as calcao and *kāl caṭṭai* may b derived from this, since under the working of folk etymology which changes the form of the words according to its fanciful derivations. *Kuttā̱n* or *kuttā* is a short vest and is from Catao a Portuguese word derived from the Arabic. *Kamicu* meaning a shirt is from Camisa once again due to an Arabic source. capāy from Cabaia and *kappa* from Capa mean large tunic with wide sleeves were popularised because of their similarity with an old Tamil word *Kuppāyam*. *Kollā* is a collar of the coat derived from the word gola. *Ilañji* or *Ilakkañji* are corruptions of Lenco meaning a scarf. *Reṇṭu* from Renda means a lace. *Vēvu* from new means a vail. *Tuvanai* a towel comes from the word Toalha. *Tamācu* is a corruption of the word Damasco, a variety of fabric from Damascus. *Pottā̱n* meaning a button is derived from batao. This short note makes it clear that we owe to the Portuguese our socks and shoes, our shirts and tunic, our towel and scarf, our buttons and lace which they, along with the Arabs, popularised here in India.

Our buildings have not resisted this Portuguese influence. *Tiravi*, *Tirāior*, *tarāy* from trai is the joint we find in our

ceilings. *Varānta, varuntai* or *pirāntar* is according to Dalgado derived from Varanda meaning a gallery with columns. Though the word Varanda is found in Sanskrit, Dalgado holds that this meaniug ts not Indian, but found its way due to the influence of the Portuguese The Tamil word *kirāti* meaning the lattice, the trellis and the railings is derived from grade. *Kāns* meaning a hook and also a hair pin is derived from ganchu. The word for window now in current Tamil use is *jannal* and this is derived from Janala. One has to see whether the window shutters were of Portuguese origin. *Pia* from Pia is a stone trough.

Many of the articles of daily usage surrounding us on all sides had been introduced into Tamil land by the Portuguese. *Alamāri* or alamariah means wall shelves and also now a chest of drawers and this is derived from armario. *Karīti* from Carista means a drawer. *Mējai* or table is derived from Mesa. By denoting the card table it came to mean a game *Mēcu* or *Pēcu* and ultimately the money staked at a card game. It is also vulgarly pronounced as *Pēstu*. "Munrām Pēstu tōrravan mukam pōla" is a frequent phrase. A crest fallen individual is compared to a man who has lost the game thrice continuously, thus losing his all. *Cūtāṭu* is attempted to be derived from the Portuguese Jagar but the word is as old as the Christian era in Tamil. *Katirai* from Cadeira means a chair. *Pippā* or *Pīppā* or *Pīppāy* means a cask and is derived from the word pipa. *Pāṅku* from Banco is a bench. *Istāntai* is from estante, means a book case. *Ārkan* from organ, denotes a musical instrument organ. 'Oralōcu' from Relogio means a watch or clock. *Lāntar* from lanterne means a lantern and it is possible to derive it from the French word also. 'Kulōpu' is from globo and denotes a spherical glass bowl used as a candle holder which adorned all our ancient halls till electric lights displaced them. *Alpanāti* from alfinate is the pin. *Maṭuttal* comes from Martello, a hammer and *alavāṅku* from alavanca is a hand pike. *Cāvi*, from Chavi, has become so popular that it has, because of its simplicity, displaced the original Tamil word 'Tiruvukōl'. To think of a life without tables, almirahs, pins, and handspikes, lantern, and globes, has become difficult for us, thanks to the influence of the Portuguese.

Through their direct suzerainty over Portuguese settlements, through their commercial and trade relations, through their

political alliances and influence over the Tamil kingdoms, through the very presence of their colonies in and near the Tamil country, through their religious missionaries, through their contact with many languages which came to be spoken in capital cities and trade emporiums through the borrowings by Tamil from Urdu or other neighbouring languages which had already borrowed from the Portuguese, through the spread of Indo Portuguese dialect in and near places where Tamil was spoken and through the Anglo-Indian vocabulary current in the Tamil country containing many Portuguese words, many words of Portuguese origin gained currency in the Tamil country itself. Often this influence is considered to be circumscribed, superficial and ephemeral. But the present study has proved that view to be wrong. One has to agree with Dalgado, "The truth however is that the civilising influence of Portugal in her former dominions and the peoples she came into contact with was in more senses than one very extensive, very deep and very abiding."

12. The Tamil Script Reform[1]

India has celebrated her fifth anniversary of the day she achieved Independence. She is a federation of States in one of which an ancient language continues to be current even in this Twentieth Century. The Tamilians are therefore both to look backward to the past for preserving their classical heritage and to look forward to the future for achieving progress in science and the modern arts. That is their peculiar problem at present because of their unique position in History. If language is the expression of a nationality, the Tamil language should become capable of performing this cultural duty.

Man stands up with his gaze towards heaven, looks and marches towards the horizon. The hands become freed and develop into the miraculous tools of the brain, its very embodiment, creating and shaping, as they wish, the world and the machines which are but his extended arms. Man finds that his most materialistic organ of eating creates music, moving other hearts and utters words, symbolising his innermost thoughts. Man thinks aloud; thought is no more inaccessible. This is a discovery and a revolution. Society is knit together in this union of voices and communism of thoughts. The miracle is that it is the incarnation of thought in audible sounds. Society preserves this through its tradition. But after all, the audible sound, as an audible sensation, is ephemeral. When man's scribing hands give permanence to these thoughts through written symbols, another revolution is effected. Man's thoughts conquer time and space, Aristotle and Tiruvaḷḷuvar, Homer, and Kampar speak to us through the ages. Our friends in foreign countries of the West through their letters, conquering space, speak to us as did the letters of the Kings carried through their embassies in ancient times. Books are thus born.

Once written down these books of great men cease to be individual possessions and become the common property of society. They can be copied and multiplied but there is a limit to human power. Man, however, overcomes this difficulty

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[1] "The Tamil Culture" Vol. II No. 1, 1952.

by inventing machines. If man is a thinking and a social animal, the books, the embodiments of men's thoughts, are the heritage of every man—not only of the learned few. The age of the Common man starts. The Printing press and its modern developments of lino-type, mono-type, etc., have ushered in this age of universal literacy as the very basis of the Democracy of our country. The Printing press though nothing but matter, yet as the embodiment of the social urge of Man's spirit, thus introduces the third great revolution in the domain of thought.

The Common man—the ordinary labourer operating the ever renewing machines has to keep himself in touch with their modern developments if he is to keep the wolf from his doors. The invention of mechanical devices and improvements are flashed through the wireless and the tele-type writer all through the world, to be printed in the evening papers, giving the latest news. The Tamil language and its scripts have to serve not only the poets and philosophers but also the motor driver and the electrician speaking and writing a peculiar Tamil jargon almost foreign to the learned, though popular among their own comrades. The democratic and practical need of the age should not be lost sight of in our preoccupation with our own classics. This supplies us with a guiding principle. The adult coming to the Community Centre to receive his social education is to a little extent like the child familiar to us in our school. We shall therefore study the familiar child to throw new light on this problem.

Society it is that makes culture immortal, passing it on from one generation to another by actual social contact and habits. Therefore, the greatest problem is to prepare the younger generation—the future citizens for the necessities of the modern world. This is the era of the Child as a poetess of the West has sung. The Child is the father of the man and this ought to serve as our starting point. A Common Error Note-book of a higher form of a city High School reveals to us the difficulties the children are experiencing in our educational institutions, where their difficulties, honest toil and first trials at creative expression, are condemned as errors by a tyrannical adult world of teachers, in their attempt at mechanising and standardising the human talent of the morrow. The longer ka and other syllabic letters ending in long a, are with

a few exceptions, written with the consonants followed by what in Tamil is called a *kāl* of the form ா. (கா, சா etc.). The exceptions ணா, றா, னா are a source of confusion to the children believing in the uniformity of Nature, which is the basis of all our sciences. These unsophisticated ones more often than not write these exceptional letters also with a *kāl* as றா, னா and ணா. The history of the Tamil script justifies their mistakes as the most ancient and correct forms. The exceptions have been introduced in the middle ages to avoid confusion in the running script. We, therefore, ought to be thankful to these new-comers to our world, teaching us good sense through their racial memory of the ancient forms.

There is another place where this fundamental feeling of uniformity of nature receives a rude shock. Whilst ordinarily we write the syllabic letters ending in *ai* with a double *kompu* ை preceding the consonant the letters *ṇai*, *ṉai*, *lai*, *ḷai* are not written according to this ordinary rule as ைண, ைன, ைல and ைள but instead are written as exceptions having the forms ணை, னை, லை and ளை so as to avoid the confusion of the double *kompu* with ண etc., in the running script. Here also the good sense of the children condemned as a mistake by their teachers, puts us on our guard to understand and appreciate the ancient history of these letters which surprisingly justifies their so called aberrations.

There is one other instance of this breach of uniformity more dangerous to the development of science and logic because of its occurrence almost at the second step of the child in its progress in writing. அ and ஆ, the first two letters are related in form, even as they are related in sound. The long and short vowels and syllabic letters in the alphabet are uniformly thus related. But at the very second step, come the short i and the long i which have no similarity in form when they are written as இ and ஈ. The connected forms இ and are not of ancient history and there is no meaning in persisting to use the grantha form of the long i when there is an ancient form still continuing to be current. That great friend of the children, the late lamented Tiru C. R. Namacivāya Mutaliyār re-introduced uniformity to this extent in his Readers.

These are some of the recommendations of the Committee appointed by the Government of Madras for reforming the

script—recommendations approved by the learned bodies of Tamil land. These are neither revolutionary nor heterodox; they, in an orthodox way go back to the pristine purity of ancient usage.

The next source of confusion is between the sign of *au* (ஔ) in the syllabic letters and the letter ḷ (ள). ஔ is *au* but nothing prevents any one reading it as *oḷa*; and this remark is not hypercritical. The compound 'oḷḷaḻal' (ஒள்ளழல்) by elision of the medial consonant ள் (ḷ) can become ஔழல் 'oḷaḻal' in poetry according to the best usage of the grammarians. *Vau* (வௌ) is liable to be read as *veḷa*. Aruṇakirinātar of 'Tiruppukaḻ' fame uses the word *veḷḷari* (வெள்ளரி) the cucumber in its unusual form *veḷari*, where the *ḷ* medial or ள has been elided. How is one to distinguish *veḷari* from *vauri* (வௌரி)? If the children get confused and read the word ஔவை as *oḷavai* according to a standing joke of the schools, who is to be blamed? Who is to be slapped? Certainly not the children who in their simplicity, yearn for a firm hold on the uniformity of Nature. The Grantha script avoids this confusion by having two different symbols, for otherwise it would have been impossible to read. Sanskrit in that script, because of the frequency of the sound *au* occurring in that language. It is the rarity of this sound *au* in Tamil which more often than not was written except in Grammar, in the more ancient way as *av* (*Avvai, navvi*) that has brought to the forefront its confusion with *ḷa*. There is a suggestion to remove *au* from the alphabet itself—a most revolutionary change which when adopted will make it impossible to print the ancient grammars or to transliterate foreign words where this *au* occurs. Nobody is compelled to write *au* instead of *av* but in this age of freedom we cannot compel a phonetician to write *av* when he feels he is hearing the sound *au*. For the purpose of differentiating these sounds in the scripts—for there is no confusion in pronunciation—the old from ள is retained for ḷ whilst the same form with a slight difference—a line is drawn to the left from its perpendicular line as we draw in ர and ரு to differentiate them from ா and ள respectively. The new form for the *au* syllabic letters is —(—Kau).

A reference has been here made to the democratic and practical demands of the modern world, necessitating the printing of newspapers for the benefit of the labourers and the

public. If Tamil were to become the language of our Government and Courts, its scripts must lend themselves to be easily and neatly arranged in the type board so as to be operated upon, without much difficulty or waste of time. A language like the Chinese with its two thousand scripts is impossible for a typewriter and for the lino type board of the printing machine. We hāve in Tamil 12 vowels, 18 consonants, 1 Āytam, 216 combinations of vowels and consonants, as syllabic letters, making in all 247 letters, a number equally impossible for the typewriter and the lino. But fortunately the early printers of the Tamil country have now for centuries analysed these scripts into a few letter-forms which by permutation and combination give all the required 247 letters of the Tamil alphabet. ஔ in print is not one letter as in script, but a combination of two leads ஒ and ள; no new form is required for ஔ according to the usage of printers. (But in our recommendation will be a new lead). The long syllabic letters கா, சா etc. ending in ஆ have been analysed into the dotless consonants and the *kāl*, so much so, that instead of having 18 new forms for these, the forms for the short syllabic letters க, ச etc., are themselves used along with one new lead the *kāl* (ா). thereby effecting a saving of 17 new letter faces. The recommendation to delete the exceptional forms ஹ, ணு and ஞு is helpful here as well.

The old printers have analysed கெ (ke) series into *kompu* (ெ) and க and etc. with the result that with one more new lead face for the *kāmpu* and the old forms for க (k) etc., they can print all 18 syllabic letters ending in எ (e). So have they analysed கே (kē) series into ே and க etc.. கை (kai) series into ை and க etc. With one additional sign alone for each one of these series, all the eighteen letters in each of the series can thus be printed. When these operators come to the syllabic letters ending in ஒ (o) and ஓ (ō) ஔ (au) the கொ (ko) series, the கோ (kō) series, and the கௌ (kau) series they need no new signs. By the combination of the *kompu*, the க etc., and the *kāḷ* ா or *ḷa*, ள they succeed in managing to give us these three series, without any difficulty. They have not gone against ancient usage by introducing these mechanical devices of economy.

There only remains the four series, the long *ū* and the short *u* the long *ī* and the short *i*, the கி series in which this analysis has not been carried to its logical end. These letters in these series on account of their inseparable unity of forms refuse any such easy analysis. The typewriter board how-

ever analyses them into common bits of letters. The hooks of the short and long i are separated from the main syllabic form; the board also separates the later portions of the letters பு, பூ, து, தூ. etc. But there is a rechnical difficulty. If the board were to be moving, there will be a space appearing in between these parts; to avoid this, the type board must be stopped from moving till both the parts of one and the same letter are typed. One hand has to be on the stop key almost paralysed for the time being. This impedes the speed of the typing. Red-tape-ism will thrive on this waste of time and efficiency engendered by this method. Some other method of analysis is therefore necessary.

As far as கி (ki) series and கீ (kī) series are eoncerned, there is a wonderful uniformity in their forms; the hook denotes short i, the hook with a circle at the right end denotes the long ī. They are attached as it were, to the main consonant in the way in which they are cast now. A reference to the Malayalam scripts will make it abundantly clear that they need not be so rolled into one form. The hook can be separated and juxtaposed. Analysed this way there is no revolutionary change introduced. Instead of introducing 36 new letters, the trick can be worked with the original க (k) etc., and two additional symbols, the simple hook and the rounded hook, thereby effecting a saving of 34 new lead faces.

The கு (ku) and கூ (kū) series as they stand at present, defy any such analysis. The gordian knot, as has been suggested, can be cut by introducing new symbols for the short *u* and the long *ū* thus saving another 34 new letter faces. There are already the symbols in use for some of the Grantha letters included in the new alphabetical list of Twentieth century such as ஜ, ஷ, ஸ, ஹ and க்ஷ. These symbols are ு and ூ used in ஜூ etc. etc. Therefore, there is no necessity for going in for any new letter face at all, and nothing except prejudice prevents the editors and authors using these forms uniformly for all the letters.

But, as matters stand at present, feelings run very high, whenever there is a suspicion, however baseless it may be, that Sanskrit usage is being forced on Tamil. The very idea of a reform of the script is resisted from all sides in other countries; but fortunately for the first time, in the history of Asian countries, such a reform has been tolerated and welcomed in this

Tamil country. It is not prudence to jeopardise the possibility of its success of this reform, by rubbing the opponents on the wrong side, merely on theoretical grounds. The experts in Lino-type and Typewriter from a practical point of view, do not insist on this further economy for the efficient working of their machines.

Here is a question of human psychology and not of dry logic. The practical world is never the clear cut dream of the theorist. It is full of compromises. If the idea of the reform of the script were to take root, it would indeed be a great revolution. It will make possible further reforms in the future, if necessary, once the nation becomes accustomed to the notion of change. To spoil the good effect of this agreed reforms, on non-controversial points by insisting on doubtful symmetry and system, is to court defeat for all times to come. Discretion is the better part of valour.

The dotted consonant க் (k) etc., could have been analysed into க etc. and the dot, but the dot thus separated will be confused with the sign denoting "degrees" in the measurement of temperature and angles. One may wait for a correct analysis of this series.

Therefore, these recommendations are not the last word on this subject. Children get confused when they come to syllabic letters ending in *e* aud *au*, the கெ series, the கே series and the கை series, because the vowel signs here instead of coming after the consonant as *kāl* or hook as heretofore, precede it. In syllabic letters ending *o*, ō and *au* in the கொ series கோ series and கௌ series the confusion is worst confounded, for the vowel signs get split up and a part of them, the ***kompu***, precedes whilst another part, the *kāl*, follows the syllabic consonant. But any remedy will be only worse than the disease; because there is the great danger of making the handful of our literates in Tamil, illiterates, by introducing revolutionary changes. It is this overpowering consideration that stands on the threshold of our enquiry preventing the acceptance of the Roman alphabet.

There is nothing revolutionary in the recommendations. They hark back to ancient times. A few misguided devotees of Tamil are labouring under the fallacy that the present scripts came from Siva or Agastya fully formed like Minerva from the

head of Zeus. They forget the gradual changes the scripts have undergone all through the ages. Ka, (க) for instances was originally like a plus sign (+). Writing on palmyra leaf, the straight lines tearing the leaf, have to be avoided and written as curves. The commentators like Naccinārkkiniyar pointed out the changes of the dots or *pullis* and 'kōtus' or lines into *kompu* and *kāl*. Has not Rev. Beschi as late as the eighteenth century introduced changes in vowels எ, ஏ, ஒ, and ஓ, and in syllabic letters of the கெ, கே, கொ and கோ series? If there is any well established tradition about our scripts in Tamil land, it is a tradition of gradual change to meet the exigencies of times; and the recommendations of the Committee are, therefore, on the lines of the best tradition of this hoary land and its ancient language.

13. Tamil Letters and Sounds of the Seventeenth Century[1]

In tracing the history of Tamil, the studies of the foreigners of this language form an important source. For one thing the pronunciation of Tamil words as heard by them, naturally according to the phonemic peculiarities of their respective languages, is an important piece of information from which one can arrive at the phonetic value of the Tamil letters in their course of History. For another, the foreigners were familiar more with the colloquial language, for a study of which we have not many other sources of knowledge.

The Westerners brought with them the printing press to India and the first Tamil types were produced by Joanes Gonsalves in 1577. The first grammar of Tamil language by a foreigner now available is that of Balde, a Dutch Missionary; but, he himself refers to previous studies on the subject, especially that of the Jesuit Father Caspardaquilar, which unfortunately are all lost to us. A translation of this seventeenth Century Dutch Grammar was given in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College* by Mr. J. A. B. Van Buitenen with a note on the phonetic and other peculiarities by Mr. P. C. Ganeshsundaram.

During my stay at Poona in connection with the Summer School of Linguistics, thanks to Mr. Ganeshsundaram and Mr. C. R. Sankaran, I had occasion to look at the original and get a photographic copy of this part of the bigger work by Balde through the courtesy of the Deccan College Historical Museum. Important as the above mentioned paper is, a more detailed study of this grammar is necessary for arriving at reasonable conclusions on the state of the Tamil language in the 17th century. Unfortunately, in the *Bulletin*, the original is not given, especially those portions where we have the Tamil transcriptions. These transcriptions are important from two points of view—first, from the point of view of Paleography and second, from the point of view of finding out the sound values of the

1 " The Indian Linguistics "—Vol. XVII. 1957.

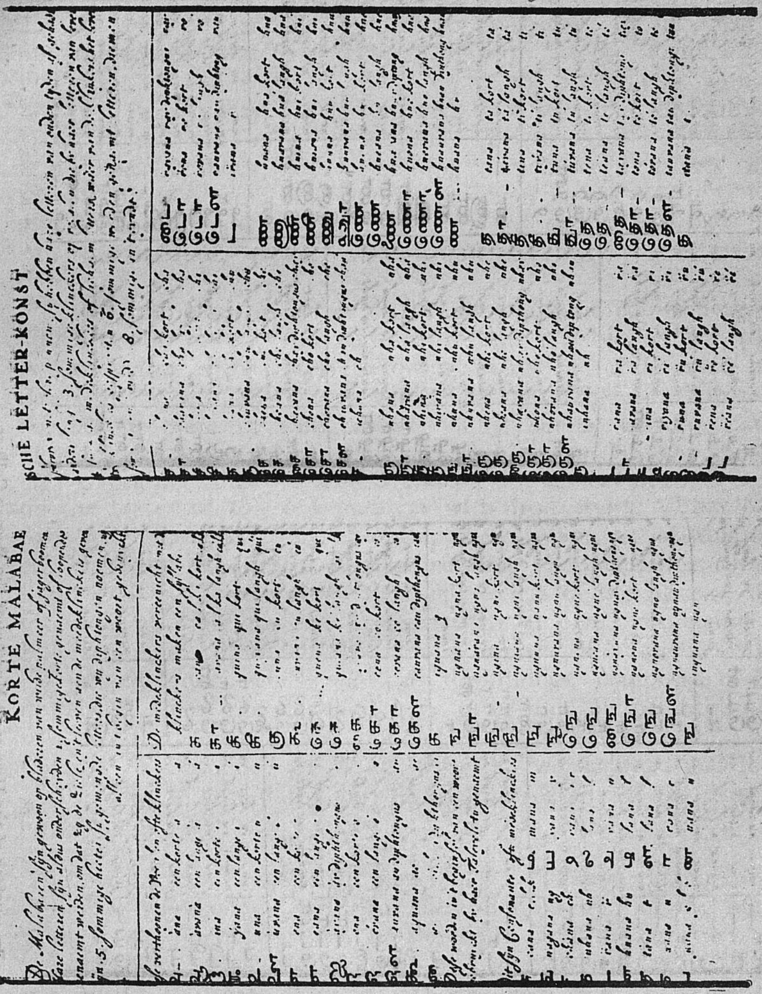
Tamil letters as given by Balde. This will lead one to the study of grammar from the paleographic point of view, from the phonetic point of view and from the morphological point of view. In this essay the paleographic or orthographic point of view can only be studied with a necessary note on the sound value of the letters, reserving for a future occasion the other two studies.

The Tamil letter representing the sound, the short *a*, is not in Balde's times, having as in modern writing an elongated loop under, and in continuation of, the curve at the top; the modern loop is represented there only as a horizontal line. *ñ* is represented like the English ʒ with the lowest curve rising up to the left and to the top. In the long '*ū*' the mark which differentiates it from the short '*u*' starts at the right hand end of the horizontal line and is written as though by the side of the short *u*, whereas in modern writing it is placed above and with in he limits of the horizostal line. The short *e* and the long *ē* and similarly the long and the short *os* are not differentiated as in modern times or as in older times when a dot was to be placed on the top of the shorter letter. Nor are there any dots on the pure consonants to differentiate them from syllabic consonants, those occurring as a syllable in combination with a following vowel. These dots seem to have disappeared from the writing system soon after the 10th century A.D., to come back slowly in the 19th century. The *āytam* represented now by three dots arranged as it were in a triangle is found written in the 17th century just like the longer Tamil syllabic letter *ku*.

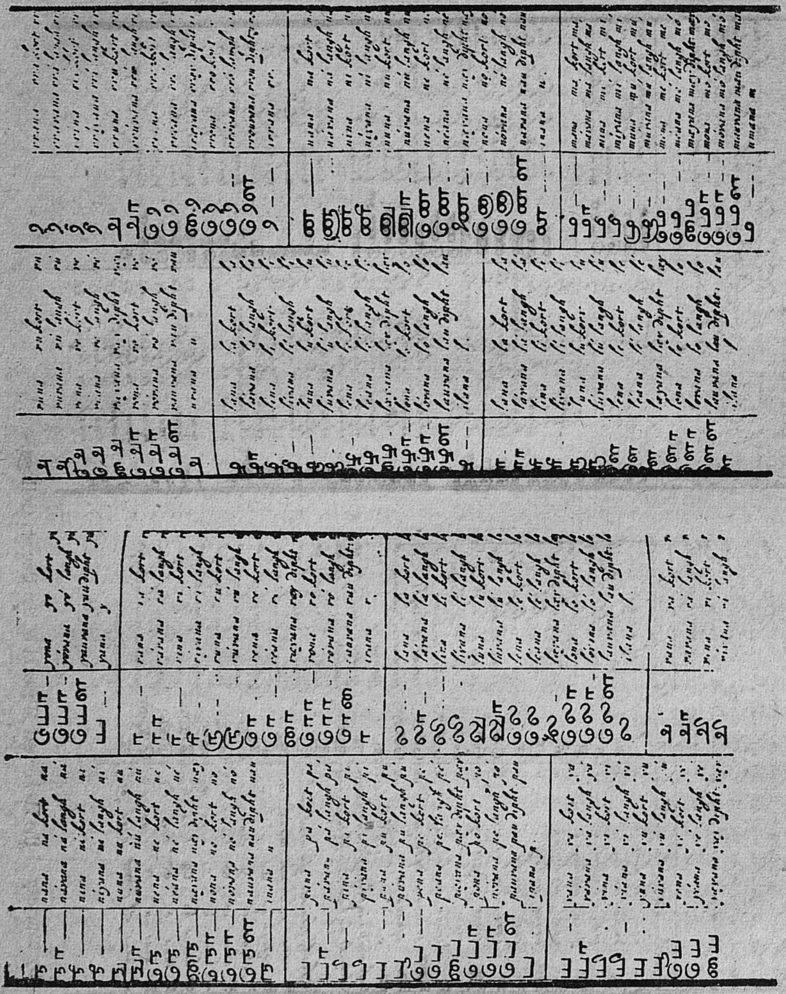
Coming to the consonants, in *k* the loop on the lower right hand side is not found to join, as in modern writing, the vertical line coming from the top, from the middle of the horizontal line. The lower line in *n* is not as in modern writing produced straight to the left even beyond the vertical line; it stops as a curve or as a semi circle, the bottom part of this curve going no further to the left than the top part. In *r* there is no line starting from the right vertical line and going to the left making an obtuse angle, as in modern print. In *l* the starting loop of the left, seems to be, a little lower from the other portions of the letter. *v* is like the modern letter but the horizontal line is produced to the left almost as in *a*, the only difference being the vertical line here is not produced down-

wards as in *a*. It is difficult to distinguish the short and *vu*, the long *ā* and the long *vū*. In *z* (as in azure or *r* in farm) the lowest portion which is in the form of a horizotal line is very much shorter than what it is to-day. The lowest portion seems to be more like the lower line of Tamil dental *t*. The hard trilled letter *r* is written like the English 9 or inverted 6.

Coming to the syllabic letters, the marks of the short *i* and long *ī* begin not from the right hand end of the topmost vertical line but from the middle of it. The sign of the shorter *i* goes up a little, then makes a little curve, only to flatten up into a straight line to be parallel with the vertical line but never going beyond the limits of the lower vertical line. The mark of the longer ī is differentiated from this by its ending in a loop at its right, almost touching the vertical line. Here also the marks denoting the short *e* and the longe *ē* are not differentiated; nor are the marks for the short *o* and the long 'ō'. The marks of short *u* and the long *ū* coming with the palatal *ñ*, cerebral nasal *ṇ*, dental plosive *t*, dental nasal *n*. lateral l, alveolar nasal *ṉ* and trilled *ṟ*, do not form an elongated loop, below the consonants as they do in modern writing. This seems to be on a part with the absence of the loop in *a*. In all these cases, the mark for the longer sound is written separately on the right—a mark which is almost identical with the ordinary Tamil *a*. This sign occurs also in the syllabic letters of consonants occurring with the longer e and o. The sign for the longer *ā* is also the same. In the trilled *ṟ* the sign of the longer *ā* is a kind of a comma, placed on the left hand top. If the sign for *i* turns to the right, this turns to the left. This sign occurs in the trilled *ṟ* when also in combination with *o*. In those letters whose right side ends in a vertical line going up, as in *p, y, v* the curved sign representing the added *i* starts straight from the top of the vertical line, but the vertical line ceases to be straight and is found slightly to be slanting to the left; the loop in the longer *ī* comes very much near the middle of this slanting line. The sign for the longer *ū* added to *m* is very much like that which is added to z (as in azure). The short *u* and the long *ū* added to *z* is differentiated from this, by the curve underneath, never reaching beyond the lower vertical line. The short *u* added on to *z* has no loop at the end of its curve, whereas the longer *ū* has it. The same remarks may be made about the longer and shorter *u* added to the cerebral *ḷ*. When long *ā* is added to the cerebral *ṇ* we usually write *t* today with



—By courtesy of the Historical Museum of the Deccan College.



—By courtesy of the Historical Museum of the Deccan College.

a curve beginning at the end of the vertical line and turning to the left, instead of placing a mark like the ordinary *r* on the right. The same thing occurs in the syllabic letter when this consonant makes a combination with *o* following it. To-day the longer *ā* added on to the cerebral *ṇ*, the alveolar *ṉ*, and the trilled *ṟ* are all written this way. In the Tamil alphabet given by Balde the o added on to the cerebral *ṇ* alone is not written this way but is followed by a sign like the ordinary *r*, as in the case of other letters. This may be a mistake or it may be that both kinds of writing were in vogue in his time. It will be seen from the description given above that it is very difficult to distinguish velar nasal *ṅu*, *vu* and trilled *ṟu*. The *rau* is also found wrongly written and is evidently a mistake.

On four pages as given in the photographic copies herewith attached, the vowels, the consonants and syllabic letters, (that is, consonants with vowels following them) are transcribed and described with their Dutch values. Mr. Buitenen calls this "a remarkable piece of calligraphy". This survey of the Tamil alphabet begins with this short note which runs in Mr. Buitenen's translation thus:—"The Malabars are accustomead to write on the leaves of the old palmyra with iron styles. They have had their characers from of old. Their letters are distinguished: 1. Some are called short or running (Loopende); 2. Others long; 3. Some vowels which they call letters of life because they give soul and life to the consonants; 4. Some consonants or letters of body, of which the vowels are the life; 5. Some they call mixed letters, which we call diphthongs, composed of two vowels; 6. Some are called letters used only at the beginning of a word; 7. Some in the middle; 8. some at the end." The quantity is explained by Balde with the words short and long, and is also differentiated by the accent placed on the signs of long sounds. The short sound is known as *kuṟil* in Tamil, the long sound is *neṭil*. The vowels are called *uyir*—life or soul. The consonants are called *mey*—body. "Tamil grammarians designate vowels by a beautiful metaphor, as *uyir* or the life of a word; consonants as *mey*, or the body; and the junction of a vowel and consonants as *uyir-mey*, or an animated body" (Caldwell, p. 132). The diphthongs are *cantiakkaram*, the Tamilised form of Sanskrit term 'Sandhyakshara'. The reference to letters occurring only at the beginning or at the middle or at the end of words describe as it were, the Tamil phonetic system.

Here we also get a clear idea about the method, these letters were pronounced by the students of these days whilst naming the individual letters of the Tamil alphabet. The short vowels get *na* added after their sounds; i.e. *ana* in *a,* etc., long vowels and diphthongs get *ana* coming after their sound for the purpose of enabling the students to recite (Ex. *āvana*) these sounds in a sing song tone. In between the vowel sound and this enunciative increment, *v* comes in to prevent hiatus after *ā* *ū*, 'ō' and *au.* It is curious that the long *i* is represented by *y* with a long accent on *y.* Probably the *i* had been omitted by mistake and the accent transferred to *y.* It may also be that the long *i* was pronounced more like *y* as is even now done in some cases in the colloquial speech. The true explanation may be that the Dutch *y* approximates to this *i* sound in Tamil.

In reciting or naming the consonants an *i* is added as a prothetic vowel, except in the case of *v* and *m* where we find them written as *uvana,* and *umana*—that is with a prothetic labial vowel *u,* probably because the consonants which they precede are bi-labial and labio-dental. When the consonants are followed by vowels, no such prothetic vowel is added; but the syllable is followed by the usual enunciative increment added as a rule to the respective vowels.

This gives us a picture of the way the young children were taught the alphabet in that age. Till very late in our twentieth century, this method was continued in the old Pial Schools of Tamil land, till they are replaced by modern Elementary schools. On page 193 of Balde's book, there is a picture of the children writing on the sand. We also see scrolls of palmyra leaves or 'ōlai' on which the letters were to be written as we now do on paper *a, i, u, e,* and *o* are the vowels; each has two forms one short and the other long which are all clearly marked and distinguished. Every long vowel immediately follows its shorter counter-part. In between *e* and *o* occurs the diphthong *ai* which is given the value *ay* with an accent on the first sound. After 'ō' occurs the dipthong *au.* The *ai* when following the consonant is represented by *oi* but its pronunciation is given as *oei. ei* is the pronunciation as given by Dr. Caldwell who, however, does not mention the other pronunciation while Balde mentions both. Thus we get the Twelve Vowel sounds of Tamil.

Th thirteenth letter in the Tamil alphabet goes by the name of *āytam* whose pronunciation has been changing from time to time. The value is given as *aq* by Balde and in the alphabet it is named or recited separately as 'aquana'. This will be seen later on, to suggest a palatalised velar fricative sound.

The consonant *k* is represented by *c*. When *k*, is followed by *i* it is represented as 'qui'; when it is followed by *e* it is represented as 'que'. *q* thus represents the palatalisation of this consonant *k*. When the consonant *k* is named as 'iquana' we also find this palatalisation being due to the influence of prothetic vowel.

The palatal consonant like the one which occurs in 'church' is represented as *ch*. The dental plosive is represented by *t*, and the bi-labial plosive by *p*. The cerebral plosive is represented with an *r* with two dots on the top. This cerebral *ṭ* is a letter which causes confusion to the students of Latin as pointed out by Beschi, since there is only a dental *t* in their language and since they do not have the alveolar *t* as found in English. Probably they heard this sound as a flap coming very much near the *r*. It is this which is responsible for an *r* coming in the place of cerebral *ṭ* in the Westernised names like Tuticurin and Tranquebar. The other plosive was originally an alveolar in Tamil. This has come to be pronounced as a trilled *ṛ* which can be represented by two 'r's; Balde gives its value exactly like this, as *rr*.

Coming to the nasals, the dental nasal is represented as *n*, the labial nasal as *m*. Difficulty arises with reference to the velar, palatal, cerebral and alveolar nasals. The alveolar nasal is not differentiated from the dental; probably they were not then differentiated from each other even as they are not, in modern pronunciation. Both are now pronounced as alveolars except when the dental nasal is followed by the dental plosive, in which case it is pronounced as a dental. The velar nasal is given the value *ngn*. The final *n* here is curious but probably is an attempt at representing unconscious nasalisation of the vowel following this velar nasal. The palatal nasal and the cerebral nasal are given the values respectively *nh* and *hn*; that is, the palatal, is represented by *n* followed by an *h* and the cerebral is represented by an *n* preceded by an *h*. If *c* in

Balde's system represents *k* the palatal plosive represented as *ch* is then the velar as followed by an *h*. The *h* is probably the writers' method of representing the palatal sound found in 'ach'. It is curious to learn that the Tamilians of the age of *Nannūl* pronounced their *āytams* as a kind of an *h* or breath or fricative in the cerebral region or more correctly in the palato-alveolar region. When the palatal nasal is represented as *nh* it probably means that a nasal sound has to be produced in the palatal region. The cerebral nasal represented as *hn* probably points out that the tongue was placed in the palatal alveolar region (which is near the cerebral region) and a nasal pronounced from that place.

Coming to the semi-vowels *y* represents *y*, *r* represents *r*, *l* represents lateral dental *l*, *v* represents *v*. The cerebral *ḷ* is not differentiated from the dental *l*. Nor is the *z* (azure) differentiated from both. This letter is often confused with the cerebral *ḷ* in the South districts, a confusion which is found in Balde's transcription as well. The order of the consonants in Tamil alphabet is as in the transcription by Balde *c, ngn, ch, nh, r, hn, t, n, p, y, r, l,* (dental) *v* (cerebral (z)as in (azure or like *r* in farm) ; *ḷ* (cerebrel), *rr* (alveolar), *ṉ*.

When Balde gives the pure consonants, he gives the trilled *ṟ* which he represents by *rr* after *y* instead of the ordinary *r*. This mistake makes him mention the ordinary *r* just before the final alveolar *ṉ* instead of the *rr*. This is due to the confusion in the pronuciation of these two sounds which were not probably very much distinguished in hurried pronunciation. Here Balde seems to distingish the cerebral *ḷ* from the dental *l* by placing a horizontal line across the *l* in its middle portion. The 'z' which also he represents by *l* is differentiated from his other *l's* by three dots placed parallel on the top of the slanting line. When he gives the syllabic letters (i.e.) each of the consonants occurring with the twelve vowels, he gives the order as found in Tamil alphabet, without committing those mistakes which we find in his enumeraton of the pure consonants. But here also there is one mistake that is the *m* series instead of being given immeditely after the *p* series, is given at the very end, that is after the alveolar *ṉ* series.

In Modern Tamil Infant Readers, certain Sanskrit sounds are found represented by Grantha characters, and these are learnt

by the children. These are absent in Balde's book though in the transascription of Tamil passages there is room for suspecting the use of *sh* and *ksh* probably in the words 'tōsham' and 'mōksham'). In any case this absence is significant as showing the rarity of these Sanskrit sounds occurring in the colloquial Tamil language of the Seventeenth Century.

These letters are the phonemes of the Tamil language and some of them change their phonetic value when coming in the middle of a word. Again some of these phonemes had probably a tendency to fall together. There are evidences in the transcription given by Balde and they have to be reserved for a more detailed study.

Balde's book was printed in 1672. He refers to one Francois whose mother tongue was Malabar and who was his interpreter. Balde arrived in India in 1654 and stayed till 1664. The transcribed passages seem to follow the literary usage. Therefore, they may be taken to represent an earlier language. The transcriptions also show the influence of the Roman Catholic Portuguese whom Balde did not want to offend. If so, these passages may be traced to a Tamil version used by the Portuguese, long before Balde. These considerations will induce one to conclude that the language we study in Balde's writing is that of the closing years of the 16th century.

The Malabaric is the general name of the Tamil language in the writings of the Portuguese and the Dutch of the 16th and 17 centuries. "In the first book ever printed in Tamil characters at Ambalakkadu on the Malabar Coast in 1577 or 1579, the language of the book is styled Malavar or Tamil"—(Dr. Caldwell). This explains the name Malabaric for he Tamil in Balde.

...

The Tamil paleography has been studied only with the help of the inscriptions and copper plates. The cursory writing found in manuscripts will naturally differ from these; yet those have not been studied till now. No manuscript as old as that of Balde's book has been known, though it is suspected that there are manuscripts of an earlier age in Tibet. In this study, therefore, Balde's book which gives a manuscript transcription, is important.

The Tamil letters as found in the inscriptions of the 16th century are found listed on pages 56 and 57 in a book called 'Paṇṭai-t-Tamiḻ Eḻuttukkaḷ' by my friend T. N. Subramaniyam in the row No. XVI (based on 260 of 1930 Madras Epigraphic Report, the Srirangam Inscriptions of Acyutadevraya of the 1534 A.D.). In this article the modern forms of Tamil letters have been often referred to. Any modern Tamil infant reader will give this information for comparison. This book also gives the forms on pages 54 and 55. The letters found there are very much similar to those given by Balde. In *i* the curve which goes to the left and to the top is found in the inscription to curve thereafter from the top to the right and then to turn downwards so as to be parallel to the top portion of that letter. In the 3-like formation here in the centre on the right a kind of angle or dent is formed. In *nh,* the vertical line on the right, ends in a loop before curling up to the right a little and turning down to curl up to the left. In the dental *n,* the lower horizontal line goes beyond the centre, towards the left, very much like the lower horizontal line as found in Balde's dental *t*. Balde's dental *n* seems to be more like the 14th century letter. In *v* the horizontal line starts like a curve from left to right. In '*z*' the lower horizontal line is not horizontal. It starts just at the centre of the upper horizontal line in continuation of the upper curve; it goes a little to the right and then turns, making an angle, to the left. The trilled *r* is more like a blurred modern letter for that sound rather than the inverted 6 form as found in Balde's. In the syllabic letter *ku* the sign for *u* starts at the right hand end of the letter *k* as a curve going straight to the right a little and then curving down to the left, whereas in Balde the end of the letter *k* itself makes a continuous curve without first going to the right a little. The other letters are as found in Balde.

MALABAARSCHE SPRAAK-KUNST.

DE eerste *declinatie* der *Malabaren* begrijpt alleen de namen die *masculini generis* zijn, veranderende de *n*. die in *singularis* is, *in pluralis* in *r*. Zy hebben haar *singularis* en *pluralis* gelijk wy Item *nominativum*, pradamei genaamt, *genitivum*, dutiei, *dativum*, tritei, *accusativum*, chadurti, *vocativum*, panchami, *ablativum*, xasti.

Nomen. Exempel van de eerste *declinatie*, uytgaande in *an*.

Singul.	*Vanan*	een voller.
Nom.	*Vanan*	een voller.
Genit.	*Vananureja*	van den voller, des vollers.
Dativ.	*Vananucu*	tot een voller.
Accus.	*Vananer*	den voller.
Vocat.	*Vavano*	o voller.
Ablat.	*Vananuratil*	van den voller.

Haar *ablativus* is vierderley.

1 *Localis* van plaatse.
2 *Causalis*, *vananale*, uyt oorzake van den voller.
3 *Socialis* van gezelschap, *vana nore* met den voller.
4 *Compar* *vananil*, in vergelijkinge d'eene met d'ander.

Pluralis.	*Vanar fullones*	vollers.
Nominat.	*Vanar*	vollers.
Genitiv.	*Vananereia*	van de vollers.
Dativus.	*Vanarcal*, *vanarucu*	tot de vollers.
Accusat	*Vanares*	de vollers.
Vocativ.	*Vanare*	o vollers.
Ablativ. 1	*Localis. Vanar iratil*, *vanar iratile.*	
2 *Causalis*	*Vanaral vanarale*,	om der vollers wille.
3 *Socialis.*	*Vanarore vanarorum*,	met de vollers.
4 *Compara.*	*Vanaril vanarilum.*	

Om den nieuwsgierigen Lezer eenigermaten te voldoen in dit werkje, welk maar een *Prodromus Grammaticus* is, en waar op te zijner tijdt een vorer *Grammatica*, in 't volkomen gestelt, zoude in Druk konnen uytgeven werden, alzoo zy alreede onder ons berustende is, zal ik een eyn voorbeelt van een *conjugatie* hier by voegen.

PRAESENS.
SINGULAR.

ik *nan*	*Vichuvadigiren*	ik geloof
ghy *ni*	*Vichuvadiguirray*	ghy gelooft.
hy *avan*	*Vichuvadiguirran*	hy gelooft.
zy	*Vichuvadiguirral*	zy gelooft.
dat	*Vichuvadiguirraduvel*	dat gelooft.
	Vichuvadiguidu	

PLURALIS.

wy *nangal*	*Vichuvadiguirrom*	wy gelooven.
ghy *ningal*	*Vichuvadiuirgal*	ghy-lieden gelooft.
zy *masc.* en	*Vichuvadicrargal*	zy mannen en vrouwen gelooven.
zy *fem. N.*	*Vichuvadicrads*	die of die zaken gelooven.
zy	*Vichuvadiguida*	dat of geven het geloove.
Adugal.		

Negativum: Præsens. Actuale. Singul.

	Vichuvadiren illei	ik gelooft niet.
	Vichuvadicres illei	ghy gelooft het niet.
ik *nan*	*Vichuvadiezan illei*	hy gelooft het niet.
ni fagra	*Vichuvadiezal illei*	zy gelooft het niet.
	Vichuvadicrad' illei	dat gelooft het niet.
	Vichuvadiguid illei	

PLURAL.

	Vichuvadicrem illei	wy gelooven 't niet.
	Vichuvadicrirgal illei	ghy gelooft het niet.
wy *nangal*	*Vichuvadicrarga lillei*	zy M. F. gelooven 't niet.
	Vichuvadicrad illei	M. deze zake gelooven het niet.
	Vichuvadiguid illei	

Præsens honoris van eere, als men tot een Koningh of groote Personagie spreekt.

Eerst tot *Affirmatie*.

Vichuvadicrera,	ik, wy, en de Koningh gelooft dat.
Vichuvadicrir,	U Ed. U E. zijn Majesteyt gelooft dat.
Vichuvadicrare,	Zijn Ed. zijn Eerw. zijn Kon. Majest. gelooft dat

Præsens Negativum. Actual. Singular.

Vichuvadiren illei,	ik geloof dat niet.
Vichuvadicrei illei,	ghy-lieden gelooft dat niet.
Vichuvadiezan illei,	hy gelooft dat niet.
Vichuvadiezal illei,	zy gelooft dat niet.
Vichuvadicrad' illei,	die zaak gelooft dat niet.
Vichuvadiguid illei,	

PLURAL.

Vichuvadicrem illei,	wy gelooven dat niet.
Vichuvadicrirgal illei,	ghy-lieden gelooft dat niet.
Vichuvadicrargal illei,	hy gelooft dat niet.
Vichuvadicrad illei,	zy gelooft dat niet.
Vichuvadiguid illei.	die zaken gelooven dat niet.

Præsens Negativum. *Honoris* of van eere.

Vichuvadicros illei,	zijn Majesteyt gelooft dat niet.
Vichuvadicrir illei,	hy gelooft dat niet.
Vichuvadicrar illei,	ghy gelooft dat niet.
	zy gelooft dat niet.

Hier ziet men voor eerst hoe de *Malabaarsche* tale niet alleen is een zware tale: want buyten dit voorbeelt kan men dat t'zijner tijt naakt elijk noemen uyt de veelheyt van haar woorden, en hoe een dingh zeer veel benamingen heeft, maar ook elke dagh in de weke niet alleen, maar in 't gantsche jaar zijn eygen naam. Ten anderen, hoe grootelijks dit Volk op haar achtbaarheyt en respect staat, en hoe onervaren veel aanzienlijke Mannen dikmaels spraken, als of de *Malabaren* ende andere *Indianen* wild waren, daar zy in civiliteyt dikmaals veel *Europæanen* ten hooghsten beschamen.

Præteritum imperfectum singul.

Vichuvadicrane apo vichuvadieren, ik geloofde.

Pluralis.

Vichuvadicreye apo vichuvadierom, wy geloofden.

Dit is wederom *Præteritum*, *Affirmativum & Negativum simplex vel honoris*, en zoo in 't volgende.

Præteritum Singul.

Vichuvaditen, ik hebbe gelooft.

Pluralis.

Vichuvaditom, wy hebben gelooft.

Plusquamperfectum Singul.

A duen mune vichuvaditay, ik hadde gelooft.

Pluralis.

A duen mune Vichuvaditom, wy hadden gelooft.

Futurum. Singul.

Vichu va dipen, ik zal geloven.

Pluralis.

Vichuvadipom, wy zullen gelooven.

De geheele *Conjugatie* by te schrijven, achten wy thans onnoodig, dewijl de Letteren onder onze Natie tot noch toe onbekent zijn geweest, zullende uyt wachten, wat uytkomste van deze kleyne beginzelen den tijd geven zal.

14. The Tamil of the Seventeenth Century[1]

The Seventeenth Century Dutch Grammar of Tamil by Phileppus Balde, was considered in a previous article from the paleographic and phonetic point of view of the separate Tamil letters. In this paper, photographic copy of pages 195 to 97 of his book is given and these are taken up here for study. The translation of these pages are given by J. A. B. Van Buitenen and P. C. Ganeshsundaram in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College,* 14. 168-182 referred to in the previous chapter.

Page 195 gives the declension of the noun /vaṇṇāṉ/[2] 'washerman' with some notes. Balde speaks of the first declension. According to him, it comprises of nouns of the masculine gender, changing the /ṉ/ of the singular to /r/ in the plural. One has no clue, however, to find out the number of declensions he had in mind. Since he bases the first declension on the gender and the ending, the other declensions might have been differentiated on the same basis; i.e., the declensions might have varied as at present, according to the different ending.

The names of the various cases are given according to the Sanskrit Grammars, and this shows that the Sanskrit grammatical usages had become popular and current in Tamil, by that time. There seems to be, however, some mistake in interpreting these names. The practice in Tamil and in Sanskrit was and is to name the cases as the first, the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth, the seventh and the eighth cases. These are to be translated as the (1) Nominative; (2) Accusative; (3) Instrumental, Causative and Sociative; (4) Dative; (5) Ablative of Motion; (6) Genitive; (7) Locative and (8) Vocative respectively. But, Balde arranges the cases probably according to the usage then current in the European languages as follows: Nominative, Genitive, Dative, Accusative, Vocative, Ablative. Here are only six cases and he calls them the first, the second,

1 "The Indian Linguistics" Vol. I, 1958.

2. What are given within slanting lines are phonemic transcriptions. What are given within square brackets represent phonetic pronunciation. The values of the letters used by Balde to represent his pronunciation were given in a previous paper. The phonemic transcription here follows often the writing system.

the third, the fourth, the fifth and the sixth cases respectively using the corresponding Sanskrit names. This will explain the following which has been translated thus:—

"Likewise the nominative, called [paradameil] /*pratamai*/; genitive,

[duteiei] /*dvitiyai*/; dative [tritei] /*trtya*/; accusatve,

[chadurti] /*caturti*/; vocative, [pañcami] /*pañcami*/; ablative,

[xasti] /*ṣaṣṭi*/."

Though Balde makes this mistake in the introductory note, when he gives the example of the various cases arranged according to his European terminology he makes no such mistakes; the nominative is the first case of pradamai; the accusative [dutiyai], the dative is [cadurti]; the vocatve, the eigth, and the genitive is the sixth or /ṣaṣṭi/. The third /*tritiyā*/, the fifth /*pañchami*/ and the seventh /*saptami*/ are not separately mentioned but Balde includes them all under the term 'Ablative'. The ablative, he himself says, is of four kinds:

"1.	local: of place [vananiratil]	"from the fuller"
2.	causal: [vananale]	"because of the fuller"
3.	sociative: of company [vananore]	"with the fuller"
4.	comparative: [vananil]	"one compared with the other""

This is with reference to the singular. With reference to the plural, he explains the Ablative as follows:

"1.	localis: [vanar iratil], [vanar iratile]	"from the fuller"
2.	causal: [vanaral, vanarale]	"because of the fuller"
3.	sociative: [vanarore, vanarorum]	"with the fuller"
4.	comparative: [vanaril] [vanarilum]	"the fullers compared""

The local ablative is the saptami or the seventh case or the locative in Tamil. The causal ablative is the instrumental

and the causal or the third case or the tritiya. His sociative ablative is also called tritiya or the third case. The fifth case, or the pancami, is what he calls the comparative ablative.

Prathama 'the nominative' was pronounced as [pradamei] in Tamil as heard by Balde. Tamil has no aspirated or voiced plosives and therefore it has to write all these varieties of any plosive only with one letter which is usually the voiceless plosive of that varga. Even though thus written, inter-vocally these plosives are pronounced as voiced ones in modern times according to what Caldwell called the Law of the Convertibility of Surds into Sonantes. According to this Law, a plosive remains voiceless in the beginning of a word or when doubled or when occurring after another voiceless plosive, but becomes voiced when following a nasal and when occurring intervocally. In the pronunciation [pradamei] we find */t/* becoming voiced [d] intervocally. Later on we will find that in words like */nāṅkaḷ/*, */nīṅkaḷ/*, the plosive */k/* intervocally gets the pronunciation of a voiced [g]. Therefore, Caldwell's Law appears to have come into operation in the Seventeenth century itself. See also the form */chadurti/*. The Sanskrit pronunciation was retained in a few cases, i.e., the */t/* was pronounced as [t] and not as [d] even intervocally. See [duteiकei] */dvitiyai/* 'dative': [tritei] */tritiyai/*. Here, in the first word, the intial plosive */t/* which always remains voiceless is found to have been pronounced as a voiced [d] because of the original pronunciation in Sanskrit. Another remarkable thing is that a conjunct consonant */tr/* occurs intially in the Tamil pronunciation [tritei]. In Sanskrit the */r/* is a vowel; but the nearest pronunciation for that is the consonant */r/* in Tamil. This combination */tr/* ought to have been written and pronounced with an epenthesis */i/* coming after */t/* as [tiri]. But in modern pronunciation */tiricci/* becomes [tricci], only, the */t/* here has a separate release before */r/* is pronounced. Perhaps this happened in the Seventeenth Century also. It must however be noted that the conjunct consonant */dv/* has not as such become naturalised in Tamil. */v/* is nearer the */u/* of Tamil; hence */dvi/* becomes */du/*.

There is a mistake here also: [dutiei] or [dutiyei] and [tritei] or [tritiyei] are found transcribed as duteiei] and [tritei] respectively with an [e] wrongly added in the first word and an [i] omitted in the second word.

One may note here the pronunciation of the palatal plosive /*c*/. It was here represented by /*ch*/. Today in the initial position, except in the so-called corrupt language of the inferiors, it is pronounced as /*s*/. De Nobili transcribes the sound as [tch]. Probably this was the pronunciation as heard by Balde as well. Note his pronunciation [chadurti]. Even intervocally after a short mono syllable /*c*/ retained this pronunciation ; note the pronunciation [vichuvadi].

Here also, one gets the values of Balde's[x] which is used for transcribing the consonant sound /*s*/. It is curious that /*ṣaṣṭi*/ is transcribed as [xasti]. The [s] there probably repre-
a word. /*ṭ*/ also is curious : probably, even as [kaṣṭam] is pro-
sents the pronunciation of [ṣ] by the Tamils in the middle of
nounced as [kasti] in modern colloquial Tamil, 'sasti' was pronounced as [sasti], even in Balde's times. This shows /*c*/ was different from /*s*/ in Tamil.

The final long vowel /*ā*/ had become [ei] in [pradamei] the Sanskrit original being /*prathamā*/. This explains two characteristic features of the then language: (1) that the final long /*ā*/'s of Sanskrit become /*ai*/ in Tamil and (2) that the /*ai*/, was pronounced in Balde's time as [ei]. The first characteristic feature is according to the Tamil grammar *Naṉṉūl* written in the closing years of the Twelfth Century. The second characteristic feature had already been referred to in our previous paper.

Here is what Balde gives as the example of the first declension ending in /*aṉ*/:

Singular :		*Plural* :	
[vanan]	"a fuller"	[vanar]	"fullers"
Nom. [vanan]	"a fuller"	[vanar]	
Gen. [vananureja]	"of the fuller" a fuller's"	[vananareia]	"of the fullers"
		[vanarcul],	"for the fullers"
Dativ ; [*vananucu]	"for a fuller"	[vanarucu]	
Acc. [vaṇaner]	"the fuller"	[vanarei]	"the fullers"
Vocat. [vanano]	"O fuller"	[vanare]	"O fullers"

(The Ablative had already been given with the translation).

The word taken for declension is [vanan]. The various nasals, except /m/ are not differentiated in the transcription; nor the long and short vowels. That is because of the absence of any such distinction in the scripts of the various European languages known to Balde. But it is curious to note that the long and the short consonants—the single and the double consonants—are also not differentiated by Balde so that he writes as single consonants all those which are ordinarily written in Tamil scrpt as doubled consonants. That must be due to his way of hearing the sounds pronounced in Tamil in that age.

Here also the forms of the case signs have to be corrected by comparing the forms given in the two lists—one for the singular and the second for the plural. In the genitive case, the form given in singular is [vananureja] and in plural it is [vananaṛeia]. [r], as already noted in the previous paper, stands for cerebral /ṭ/. The plural form is evidently, a mistake confusing the /an̲/, /ar/, the singular and plural suffixes with the [r] i.e. ṭ] of the case sign. The /j/ in the singular form stands for [y]. [eja] is equal to [eiya]. /uṭaiya/ pronounced as [udeia] or [udeiya] is the genitive case sign given by Balde. The older genitive case sign was /atu/ in singular and /a/ in plural. Evidently /uṭaiya] has gained such greater currency as to replace the older one. /uṭaiya/ is really a separate word which came to be used as a case sign in this language which was developing from the synthetic to the analytic stage. The form in the plural must be [vanarureia] /vaṇṇārutaiya/. Perhaps the glides coming in to prevent hiatus were so slightly pronounced that they were not noticed by the foreigners. We equated [eja] with [eiya]. But really it ought to be equated with [eya]. In such a case we must assume *uṭaiya* was pronounced [uḍeya]. /ai/ in the medial position is found in modern Tamil to be pronounced as [e]. Perhaps this change had taken place even in the Seventeenth Century.

The dative in singular is found as [vananucu] /*van̲n̲ān̲uk-ku*/ is the correct form. [c] stands for /k/. Here also geminated consonant is written and perhaps also pronounced in Balde's time as a single consonant. The final /u/ is unrounded in modern times; but Balde probably did not notice any such difference except where we note below. In the plural, he gives the forms: [vanarcul]. Nouns usually take optionally an enunciative /u/ when they end originally in a semi vowel or a

nasal. */r/* in */vaṉṉār/* ; that is responsible for the form [vannanucu] in singular and [vanarucu] in plural. The other form [vanarucul] will occur when there is no such enunciative vowel. The final [*l*] in this form is very disturbing. Does it denote that the final */u/* there behaves as it were in closed syllable, perhaps showing the unrounded and shortened quality of the */u/* as distinguished from the */u/* occurring in [vannanucu] and [vannarucu]? It may, however, be that Balde is here confusing */ku/* and */kuḷ/*. */kul/* is really a compound case sign consisting of */ku/* the dative and */uḷ/* the locative. The meaning of this compound case sign is 'amidst and it is more usually used in the plural in this sense. For, in the singular it will be "inside a man". A third possibility is that the final [r] was a misprint.

Coming to the accusative case sign it is correctly represented in the plural form. ||vanarei] for */vaṉṉārai/*. */ai/* is pronounced, as usual, as [ei]. In the singular, the form given is [vananer]. Evidently the final [r] is a misprint for [i] though one may be tempted to suggest that the form given probably gives the pronunciation of */ai/* in Tamil [e] itself, in which case, */r/* has to be omitted. */ai/* is the old accusative case sign.

The vocative form in the plural with a final [e] is correct. */e/* is the usual vocative case sign in colloquial Tamil. But, in the singular form, instead of [e] there is [o] at the end. This is evidently a mistake. The correct form must be [vannāne||. It is true [o] comes as a sign of the vocative case; but it comes as a prefix and not as a suffix.

One of the ablative forms is given in the singular declension [vananirati]; */r/* is equal to */t/*. */t/* is equal to */tt/* as usual; */l/*, */ḷ/*, /ḻ/, are also not distinguished by Balde for want of any such distinction in the European languages known to him.

For the locative or the local ablative the old case sign was */kaṇ/* and this came to be replaced by */il/* in the later usage. Any word meaning a place was used as a locative case sign when the language travelled from the synthetic to the analytic stage. With reference to human beings in the latter usage, */iṭam/* was more often used. This noun */iṭam/* again was

placed in the locative case and the form /iṭattil/ came to be used, and and /e/, which also had a locative significance, used to be added optionally to this /iṭattil/. In the plural, one finds this optional forms also given by Belde in addition in the other form without the final [e]:

The causal and the sociative cases were one and the same in ancient Tamil and in Sanskrit. Its oldest case sign in Tamil was /oṭu/. Later on, /āṉ/ became a case-sign and was used in both the cases. But, the usage, in ancient Tamil itself, fixed up /āṉ/ which became /āl/ later on, as the causal or instrumental case sign and /oṭu/ as the sociative case sign. Balde does not mention the instrumental significance. /vaṇṇāṉāl/ means not only 'because of the fuller' but also 'by the fuller' or 'with the help of the fuller'. The expletive particle /e/ is added to these case signs. This makes us suspect that in the locative also the /e/ was merely an expletive. Because of this additional /e/, we get Balde's forms: [vananale] in singular, and [vanarale] in plural. The form without this /e/ is given only in plural and not in singular. Probably that represents the usage of Balde's time. As for the sociative /oṭu/, it developed the meaning of 'and', and /um/ which has the same significance, came to be added to this /oṭu/, if /e/ had not been added. In singular /e/ and not /um/ is added. We do not in Balde, get cases of /oṭu/ occuring alone without any of these expletives.

The fourth kind of ablative is the comparative ablative. The fifth case is usually described in modern Tamil as the ablative of motion, differentiated from the locative, otherwise called the ablative of rest. The difference is not in the case sign—/il/ is used in modern times for both—but in the kind of verb which follows this case sign, a verb of motion being used after the ablative of motion and a verb of rest being used after the locative case. In the fifth case, or an ablative of motion, the words like /niṉṟu/ or /iruntu/ are used in the sense of the old case sign. Though the literature of the seventeenth Century might have developed this usage, the genius of the language distinguishes the fitfh case pre-eminently as a case of comparison. It is this characteristic feature that is noted by Balde. In the plural the expletive /um/ is found added. 'Vaṇṇāril uḻavar ciṟantār': 'The cultivators are more important than the washermen'. What Balde points out as the local ablative, giving the meaning as 'from the fuller', is really a case of ablative of motion, though the same from can be used, as noted above, as

ablative or ablative of rest. However, one has to note that Balde has not referred to this locative significance for which he ought to have used the preposition 'on' or 'at' instead of 'from'.

Balde proceeds to consider the conjugation with the following summary introduction:

> "In order to satisfy the curious reader to some extent in this little piece, which is only a *Prodromus Grammaticus,* and following on which at some future time a greater complete Grammar might be edited in print—*for we have it already resting with us*—, I will add hereto a short example of a conjugation."

He gives the following forms for the present tense:

Singular :		*Plural* ;	
I	[nan vichuvadigirren] " I believe "	We	[nangal vichuvadiguirron] "we believe"
Thou	[ni vichuvadigunirray] " thou belivest"	You	[ningal vichuvadivirgal] "you believe"
He	[avan vichuvasiguirran] "he believeth"	Thy (masc.) Thy (fem.) They fem.	[vichuvadicragal] "they mean and women believe".
She	[vichuvadiguirral] "she beiieveth"		
That	[vichuvadiguirradhuvel] "that believeth"	They neuter [adugal]	[vichuvadicradu] " those of those things believe"
	[vichuvadiguidu]		[vichuvadiguidu] "those or (those things) make believe"

Let us first consider the pronoun which forms the subject of the verb:

Singular :		*Plural* :
I Person :	/*nāṉ*/	/*nām*/ ; /*nāṅkaḷ*/
II Person ;	/*nī*/	/*ṉīṅkaḷ*/
III Person :	Masculine : /*avaṉ*/	} /*avarkaḷ*/
	Feminine : /*avaḷ*/	
	Neuter : /*atu*/	/*avai*/, /*atukaḷ*/

In the first and second person, there is no differentiation in the gender; there is only the distinction between the singular and the plural. In the first person plural there are two varieties: (1) the inclusive pronoun which includes the persons spoken to; (2) the exclusive pronoun which does not. Balde refers to this distinction by implication, when he decribes the honorific forms.

The third personal pronoun will lead us to an important characteristic feature of the Dravidian languages. The words in Tamil are divided into two categories: (1) those that refer to human beings, especially the grownups and these belong to the category of rational nouns or the superior class; (2) and those that refer to the rest and these belong to the category of non-rational or non-superior class. It is only in the first category of the superior class, that there is a grammatical distinction between the masculine and the feminine in the singular number denoted usually by the respective suffixes: /*an̲*/ and /*aḷ*/. There may be separate words denoting the male animals and female animals; but that distinction is not shown by any suffix and therefore is not rooted in the language. There is no grammatical gender in the non-superior class of non-humans; but only a grammatical distinction of singular and plural number. In the distinctive plural in the superior nouns also, there is no distinction of gender. This characteristic feature of the language is very well brought out by the pronouns enumerated above.

The singular in the first Person is denoted by /*n̲*/. and the plural by /*m*/. In the second person singular this /*n̲*/, is lost. In the second person plural, an additional plural suffix /*kaḷ*/ had been added on to /*m*/, and because of its initial /*k*/, the /*m*/ ending had become the corresponding velar nasal. According to the Law of Convertibility of Surds into Sonants, the /*k*/ had become the voiced [g] after the nasal.

The masculine singular suffix is /*an̲*/; the feminine singular is /aḷ/, and the plural suffix of the superior class is /*ar*/. This /*ar*/ with an additional plural suffix /*kaḷ*/, becomes [avargaḷ]. The neuter singular is /*atu*/, and the plural, in ancient times, was /*avai*/ and the plural suffix was very often /*a*/. In Balde, the neuter singular /*atu*/ appears also as in the plural suffix but with the second plural suffix /*kaḷ*/; /*k*/ occurring intervo-

cally becomes [g]. This is the colloquial usage even now and may be taken to be at least as old as the Seventeenth Century.

The Root taken up for conjugation is [vicuvadi] from the Sanskrit root */viśvas/*, "to confide" or "to believe". The noun form more common in use in Tamil is */visvāsam/*. The Sanskrit roots are converted into Tamil roots by the addition of the suffix */i/*. Hence we must have here */visvaci/*. The conjunct consonant */sv/* cannot occur in Tamil and it becomes */uv/* */visva/* becomes elsewhere */viccuva/*. The intervocal second /s/ in */visvāsam/* becomes */t/* in Tamil. See */māsam/* becoming */mātam/*. The intervocal */t/* then becomes /d/. On account of these two changes one gets the form */viccuvadi/* which occurs as */vicuvadi/* [vichuvadi] in Balde, because the geminate consonants are written by him as single consonants. The */ṛ/* is written as */yr/* showing that it is more trilled than the ordinary */r/* in Tamil; this will explain the form of the present tense sign coming after the root above mentioned. */kiṛ/* with an enunciative */u/* is the usual present tense sign. This */k/* which is pre-palatal, because of the following front vowel, */e/* is represented in Balde as */qu/*. In the lithograph of the manuscript in Tamil, the form is */viccuvadikkiren/* for first person singular. Here we have a geminated */k/* which cannot be voiced as */g/* under any circumstances and therefore [guir] or [gir] occurring as the present tense sign is evidently a mistake for his [quir]. In the portion on conjugation this /q/ has been wrongly printed as */g/* . This */kiṛ/* becomes */kṛ/*. See what we have stated above with reference to */tṛitiya/*. This */kṛ/* is written as [cr] by Balde.

If [vichuvadi] is the root and [quirr] is the present tense sign, what remains must be the suffix showing the gender and/or the number as the case may be. These suffixes are considered to be the shortened forms of older pronouns:

	Singular			*Plural*		
I.	*/yāṉ/*	=	*/eṉ/*	*/yām/*	=	*/em/*
II.	*/nī/*	=	*/i/* or */ai/* or */ay/*	*/nīr/*	=	*/ir/*
III.	*/avaṉ/*	=	*/aṉ/*	*/avar/*	=	*/ar/*
	/avaḷ/	=	*/aḷ/*			

/eṉ/ is the shortened form of */yāṉ/*; */em/* of */yām/* */ay/* or */ai/* is connected with the */i/* ending of 2nd person

/*nī*/ etc. In the second person plural we have the form /*nīr*/ where /*ir*/ is the plural second person suffix, and it is this with the addition of the another plural suffix /*kaḷ*/ that is found in the second person plural verb. The initial /n/ is lost in the second person suffixes. The second person plural form in Balde must be [vichuvadiquirrirgal] but it is wrongly printed as [vichuvadivirgal]; [v] is mistaken for [cr]. In the third person, the neuter singular must be [vichuvadiquirradu]. Therefore [vel] found added on to this form is clearly a misprint. [vel] may be taken as a corruption of the form /*kaḷ*/ but then, being a plural suffix it, ought to occur, down below, with the plural forms, and has no place in the group of singular verbs. Or, perhaps, /*vel*/ comes to denote 'and' in the text and not in the Tamil form. There is also another form given for third person singular: [vichuvadiquidu]. The correct form must be [viccuvadikkudu]. The medial /*u*/ was probably pronounced as [i], which explains the [i] in Balde, and this is a tendency known to us elsewhere. This is a form which consists of the root and the formative /*ku*/ followed by the neuter singular suffix /*tu*/. This form is current in modern times, perhaps as a relic of a very ancient usage. /*k*/ probably denoted the non-past-tense or non-completed action and that way it came to denote the present tense, for the genius of the language has place only for two aspects, the completed (past) and the non-completed, the latter sometimes denoting the present and sometimes the future.

In the plural the first person suffix found in Balde is [on]. It ought to be [em] as may be seen in the negative conjugation given by him. Otherwise [on] has to be taken as a misprint for [om] and we must assume that because of the loss of the final /*n*/ and /*m*/ in the pronunciation of first person pronouns, leaving only the preceding vowel nasalised, they came to be confused. But, [om] is used as an inclusive plural by Balde, and therefore, the exclusive form here used ought to be [em] and not [om].

In the third person plural both the forms of the singular verb with the suffix [adu] are used. The wrong form given in the third pesron singular above [vichuvadiquirraduval] may be inserted here; this ending [vel] will correspond to the nominative pronoun [adugal] .This verbal form must have been rarer.

Balde proceeds to give the negative forms for these verbs in present tense. There is such a thing as a negative mood in Tamil as explained by Caldwell, but, that is a form common to all the tenses. What Balde gives here is not a single verb but a phrase consisting of the finite verb followed by the word of negation [illei] 'no or not'. The very form for the present tense are repeated in the same order as above but with the addition of [illei] following every verb.

Here also there are mistakes, though there are also a few alternative forms or pronunciations, hinted at. In the third person present tense form, [quir] and [cr] are found as present tense signs. In the negative present tense, the form of the present tense is [cr] all through: [vichuvadiquid] has no present tense sign as already explained. In the first person singular [cr] is wrongly printed as [er]. In the third person masculine and feminine, it is wrongly given as [ez]. In the second person singular, an alternate form with the suffix or ending [ei] is found instead of [ay]. In the plural, the correct form we suggested above [vichuvadicrircal] is found.

The final /u/ of the third person neuter forms is the unrounded short [u] which is usually lost, when followed by any vowel like the one occurring as the initial of [illei]. This loss is noted as an elision with an apostrophe mark.

The same negative forms are repeated again where an object is expected to have occurred though this object is not mentioned. There is no change in the negative phrases themselves. It is the translation such as "I do not believe that" which reminds us of the object. The same forms and the same mistakes are repeated; in addition in the first person singular the [c] of [cr] is omitted by mistake.

Balde speaks of *'Prassens honoris'* as used by one who speaks to a King or a great person. First, the affirmative forms are given. The first person honorfic singular is given as [vichuvadicrora], "I, we, and the King believe that." The final [ra] is evidently a misprint for [m]. [om] is the first person inclusive plural suffix. The corresponding form in the negative is given below as [vichuvidcron illei] "His Majesty does not believe that". Here also the final [n] is a mistake for [m]. See the

remarks about the first person present plural above given, about the confusion of */n/* and */m/*.

The second person honorific singular is [vichuvadicrir] "Your Honour, You, His Majesty believes that". The only difference between this form and the ordinary form discussed above is the absence here of the additional plural suffix */kaḷ/*. So also the third person honorific singular is without the */kaḷ/* found in the ordinary form discussed above; in addition an expletive [e] is added at the end. In this third person negative form [cr] is wrongly printed as [er]: [vichuvadierar illei] "he does not believe that"; "she does not believe that". The negative forms are differentiated only by the negative word [illei] added at the end of every one of these honorific forms.

Balde gives also "*Praeteritum Imperfectum*" forms. For singular his form is [vichuvadicrane apo vichuvadieren] "I believed" and for plural [vichuvadicreye apo vichuvadieron] "we believed". [eren] occurring at the end of the first form evidently is a misprint for [cren]; [eron] in the second form must be a mistake for [crom]. In the translation above given, the finite verbs alone are translated, though in the Tamil examples a sentence occurs. The sentence form also is not quite idiomatic. 'When he is believing I believe': the plural probably means "when you believe, I believe". In modern Tamil these sentences will mean "when he believe": these give a future significance. It is not clear how Balde has given the Preterite significance. In any case, Tamil does not distinguish all these varieties of tenses and it is the context rather than the form of the verb which can bring in such shades of meaning.

[Cr] in these forms is the present tense sign; sometimes because of the usage of the language, it may denote also the future. What is true of the past, future and the present is also denoted by the present tense.

One wonders whether [apo] is for '/appō-iruntu/'. In the plural, the form [vichuvadicreye] must be a mistake for [vichuvadicraye]; otherwise Balde must be giving us the hurried form [vichuvadicre] with an expletive */e/* which gets before it, the glide */y/* ; usually these become */vichuvādicriyē/*, in modern times.

Balde proceeds to add "This is again *Praeteritum, Affirmativum* and *Negativum simplex vel honoris,* and so in the following: —

PRAETERITUM

Singular:	*Plural:*
[vichuvaditen]	[vichuvaditom]
"I have believed"	"We have believed".

These are really the past tense forms according to Tamil grammar. The root here remains as before */viccuvadi/* and the suffixes of number remain as */en/* in singular and */om/* in plural. Instead of [c] or [quir] as Balde sometimes writes of the present tense, we have here */t/* as the past tense sign. The same forms are given for *Plusquamperfectum.* The completion of the action is attempted to be made clear by the words preceding the verb. The examples given are:

Singular:	*Plural:*
[aducu mune vichuvaditay]	[aducu mune vichuvaditon]
"I had believed"	"We had believed".

The form [vichuvaditay] as it stands, would denote second person singular. Therefore the final [ay] is evidently a mistake for [en] which is the first person singular suffix as may be seen from all other forms. Here also, the plural [om] is wrongly printed as [on] in the plural. The translation is of the finite verb alone but the example gives a full sentence. "I believe even before that" is the correct meaning of the sentence and in English it can be translated as "I had believed before that". It is this way that one gets an example of the pulperfect tense. All these prove the impropriety of framing the rules of grammar of a language like Tamil on the basis of the grammatical categories of a different language like Latin as is done by Balde. Perhaps there is no other way of explaining Tamil to the Europeans of that age, in a summary way.

The future singular and plural are given below:

Singular:	*Plural:*
[vichuvadipen]	[vichuvadipon]
"I shall believe"	"We shall believe".

Here also the final [n] in the plural form should be [m]. If you remove the root and the usual pronominal suffixes, what remains is /*p*/ and that is the future tense sign. Balde does not mention here the future tense sign /*v*/.

He closes this part of his study with the remark:

> "We do not deem it necessary to add the entire conjugation: because the language has hitherto been unknown to our Nation we shall await what results of these small principles the time will show."

It is very unfortunate we do not now have the complete grammar which he states he has with him to be printed.

Balde prints two pages of manuscripts writing in the daily prayer, "Our Father", and what is called the "Creed" in Tamil characters, with Latin text written in an interlinear way. He also gives the transcription of these in the Roman Sript elsewhere with the interlinear text in original Latin. These have to be reserved for a future study.

15. An Eighteenth Century Tamil Grammar

INTRODUCTION

HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE—SOURCES FOREIGN

A history of Tamil language has yet to be written. The writings of the foreigners on Tamil, form an important source for this kind of study. The native speaker of a language takes everything in his speech for granted, whereas the foreigner notices all the differences between his own mother tongue and the new language he learns. Here it is true that the foreigner's understanding will be vitiated by his attempt at explaining the new language in terms of the phonemic and grammatical system of his own mother tongue. But if we are on our guard, and make allowance for such dangers and distortions, by a careful study of the writer's language, it will not be difficult to make the best use of his writings in the preparation of a history of his foreign language. Except through such more or less phonetic transcriptions of Tamil by foreigners in their scripts, it is difficult to ascertain from time to time the changes which occurred in the values of the Tamil scripts which are more or less phonemic.

MISSIONARIES—THEIR GRAMMARS

In India as in other parts of the world, the Christian missionaries have been studying the foreign languages so that they may preach to the natives in the latters' own mother tongue. In South India, the Portuguese missionaries seem to have written the first Tamil Grammar in a foreign language. Following that grammar, a Dutch man wrote a grammar of Tamil in his mother tongue. A study of this grammar was attempted in a few articles in "The Indian Linguistics". The next great landmark in this study of the history of the Tamil Language, if Zeigenbelg's works are excepted, is "a grammar of the common dialect of the Tamil language" composed for the use of the missionaries of the Society of Jesus by Rev. Fr. Constantius Joseph Beschi—a member of the Society in the district of Madura. He wrote this grammar in Latin. But it has been translated into English. This book had proved an invaluable aid not only to the Roman Catholics but also to the Protestant missionaries who therefore themselves printed the book for their use at Tranquabar, even whilst he was alive. Dr. Caldwell's

immortal work on Dravidian Languages owes a good deal to this earlier work of Beschi.

BESCHI

Beschi came to India in 1707. Like his illustrious predecessor Robert De Nobilli, he studied the languages of the natives so as to identify himself with their modes of thought and their habits. He wrote many religious treatises in Tamil prose and also a Christian Tamil epic. He is in a sense, the father of modern Tamil humour and Tamil prose. He also prepared Tamil dictionaries in English, Portuguese and Latin. He had written a Tamil grammar in the orthodox style in verse with a commentary of his own. The grammar of the common dialect was written in 1728, exactly two hundred and thirty two year ago. He died in 1742.

A REFERENCE

Beschi in this work of his, refers in many places to an author, probably, of a Tamil grammar, whom he takes to task for certain mistakes. It is not clear who that author was. If that author could be identified and his work recovered, it will be another important source for the study of the history of the Tamil language.

I. ORTHOGRAPHY

NAMES

Beschi divides his grammar into five chapters. The first gives the Tamil letters and the rules of orthography. The first chapter is, therefore, important for giving us an idea of the phonology and the writing system of the Tamilians of that age. The vowels were known as the *"soul" uyir,* and the consonants *mey* as the body, "not altogether absurdly" as Beschi puts it [P. 5][1] A combination of the consonant and a vowel is called an animated body, *uyir-mey.* Dr. Caldwell considers all these as beautiful metaphors.

SYLLABIC SYSTEM

This combination of consonant and a vowel, though written in Tamil as one letter, is as Beschi points out "a syllable rather than a letter". The old distinction in Sanskrit between varna [letter] and aksara [phone] is to be borne in mind. Beschi has realised that the Tamil writing is a syllabic writing rather than an alphabetic writing. "For the Tamilians" he writes, "do not, after the excellent plan of Europeans, place the

1 Page numbers in this chapter refer to "A Grammar of the Common Dialect of the Tamil Language" by Beschi.

vowel after the consonant to form syllables; but of the consonant and vowel united they form a third figure". Of course he was not talking in terms of syllabic and alphabetic writing and therefore failed to notice that the Tamil system is not completely syllabic in as much as final consonants and the first consonant in a cluster are separately written.

THE CONFUSIONS AND A REFORM.

As Beschi refers to [1] the confusion which arose in his time, in Tamil between consonants and the syllabic letters ending in *'a'* because the consonants which were required to be written with a dot, to distinguish them from syllabic letter, were not so marked in the writing system, [2] the confusion between *r* and the syllabic mark ா for *ā* because both the diacritics were identical. We also learn that it was Beschi that devised the present forms of *e*, *ē* *o*, and 'ō' and in vowels and in syllables. [3] Before he came to introduce the change, the theory was *e* with a dot represented a short vowel, while the dotless *e* represented the long vowel, and similarly with reference to *a;* but as the dots were never marked, there was really no distinction between these short and long vowels. Beschi introduced a uniformity by marking only the long vowels as was done to other vowels is Tamil. Therefore to *e* and *o* as written in his age, he gave the value of short vowesl. For their long vowels he introduced the diacritics. In the syllabic letters, *e* was represented by a prefixed diacritical mark called *kompu*, ெ; see *ke* is கெ; for *ō* there was in addition a suffixed *kāl* i.e. ா. For the longer letters he introduced the double *kompu*. Therefore *kē* was கே *kō* was கோ [P. 7].

CLUE TO THE SYSTEM

He brings under three heads the various syllables that is, the letters in Tamil ending in *u* [P. 7]. according to the three different diacretics employed.

1. k, m, ḻ, ḷ, r, ṭ [கு, மு, ழு, ளு, ரு, டு]
2. c, p, y, v [சு, பு, யு, வு]
3. ñ, ṇ, t, n, l, ṟ, ṉ [ஞு, ணு, து, நு, லு, று, னு]

ṅ has been omitted and this we must include in the second group. [ஙு] (2) As far as syllabic letters with *ai* are concerned all the letters except, *ṇ*, *ṉ*, *ḷ* and *l* form one group with a prefixed diacrities ை whilst *ṇ*, *ṉ*, *l* and *ḷ* are written thus ணை, னை, லை, ளை [P. 7]. In all these ways he sought to find same uniformity as tips for understanding the writing system in Tamil in addition to his attempt at reforming the writing system.

II. PHONOLOGY

THE FIRST CHAPTER

The first chapter is divided into six section. The first section gives the number and form of the letter as explained above. The second section explains the power of the letters [P. 9]. The third section details with the variation in the pronunciation [P. 13] and the fourth with the variations in the form of letters [P. 14]. The fifth deals with the addition of letters [P. 16]. The sixth explains the Sanskrit letters [P. 24] used in Tamil writing—, *ś*, *ṣ*, *s* and usual combination of sounds unknown to an earlier age *st*, *sn*, *sm*, *sp*, *sk*, *ṣṭ*, and *tr*. In this last section he gives x as the value of *ṣ*. He points out *kṣ* is written as *ṭc* The sections four and five deal with *sandhi* rules or morphophonemic alternations. The conjunct consonants in writing, were known to the earlier speakers of Tamil, for instance of a few letters of Granta especially conjunct consonants shows the the Tolkāppiam age. The adoption of the Sanskrit sounds and influence of Sanskrit even in the collequial dialect. The value of *ṣ* shown as x agrees with what is found in the seventeenth century Dutch Grammar. Does it express the German pronunciation of acht?

PRONUNCIATION—ITS IMPORTANCE

Sections two and three are important for giving us more or less a correct idea of the pronunciation of the various letters which will be otherwise remaining to us, merely written symbols. Beschi's remarks themselves very well explain our position in this respect [First para above]. "but we call writing a dead language, since it utters words without sound. We know what Cicero wrote; many with reason, doubt with what sound be pronounced what he has written' [P. 11]. He emphasises the importance of learning the sound of words from rather speaking. "Nevertheless" he adds "that I may indulge, rather than satisfy the desire of these who have no opportunity of hearing persons speak as the Tamilians do, I will add briefly a few observations [P. 7]" It is a good fortune he did.

SURDS AND SONANTS AS ALLOPHONES

In section two, we have the basis for Caldwell's enunciation of the law of convertability of surds into sonants. *k*, *t*, and *p* are voiceless plosives at the beginning of a word or if doubled in the middle of a word. In the middle of a word if any of them is single it is a voiced plosive, so also when it follows a

nasal. Though Beschi does not bring out these facts so as to enunciate a law, it is clear he has clearly noticed the phenomenon; note his description of the pronunciations of *k, c, t* [P. 9] *p,* and *ṟ* [P. 10]; *c* has, by the time of Beschi, only the phonetic values of the letter *s,* both at the beginning and intervocally when not doubled or geminated. But if doubled or geminated it is to be pronounced as the *cha* of the Portuguese.

COMPARISON WITH EUROPEAN SOUND

This method, stating the value of the letters by referring the Tamil sounds to a comparison with the sounds found in Latin, French, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish and English, was the only way in which he could have done, before the phonetic symbols were divised at a later time. *ṅ* the velar nasal is compared with the sound ṅ in the Latin word *Longum.* The doubled *cc* is compared with the *cha* in Portuguese. *ñ* is compared with *nh* in Portuguese, *n* in Spanish and *gn* in French and Italian. *ñc* is compared to *ng* in *angel.* These explanations in relation to the European Languages explain how other Western writers also had used this kind of spelling in their attempt to express in writing the Tamil sounds. The Dutch Grammar of the seventeenth century also made use of this method. *m* has the phonetic value of *m,y* of *y, r* of *r, l* of *l,* and *v* of *v.*

RETROFLEX SOUNDS.

ṇ, ḷ, 'ḻ' and *ṭ* are what we may call retroflex sounds. *ḷ* is explained by Beschi to be a kind of *l* which is pronounced by a very slight retreflexion of the tongue as far as the middle of the palate. 'ḻ' is another *l* which is pronounced with a thicker sound, the tongue being turned back altogether to the hinder part of the palate. It is not clear what the thicker sound is, but later writers had noticed that the back of the tongue reaches the soft palate. 'ḻ' and *ḷ* had become confused in Southern districts long before Beschi, but in the place in which he lived, in and around Trichy, as the Dewan of Chanda Saheb he must have noticed the difference between these two sounds. *ḷ* we produce with very slight retroflexion of the tongue which went as far as the middle of the palate. As for 'ḻ' there is greater retroflexion and the point of articulation is still further back. But unfortunately no further information is forthcoming about the kind of contact between the tongue and the organs in the mouth. *ṭ* is unknown to the mainland of Europe though as Beschi points out the English *t* is similar. Here is a description

of the articulation of "The tongue having been turned back as far as possible so as to touch the highest part of the interior of the palate is impelled forward with some force pronouncing between *da* and *ra*" '[P. 10]. This description suggests the retroflexion. It also explains why *ṭ* is expressed by *r* by Western writers in places like Tuticorin and Tranquabar. The description is with reference to *ṭ* when single. Perhaps Beschi is explaining pronunciation as a flap. If it is doubled the tongue is turned back and it is made to vibrate with force in the same way. Here also we have the voiced and voiceless cerebrals in complimentary distribution, the voiced one occurring intervocally and after homorganic nasal *ṇ* though Beschi dees not say it in so many words.

NASAL PHONEMES

His material is not enough to decide how many nasal phonemes there were, though his description would suggest the velar, the palatal and the aveolar; nasals were in some places, allophones of *m* in the first two cases and of *n* in the third case; *n* and *ṉ* have fallen together; *n* occurs initially and *ṉ* elsewhere; *m, n* and *ṇ* were really phonemes.

'Ṛ' PHONEME.

ṟ also was not a phoneme; though if contrasted with *r* it may be looked upon as a geminated *r*. The geminated *r* then will be separate phoneme, falling in line with other geminated consonants contrasting with single consonants. Perhaps for the sake of elucidation of morphophonemic changes, it will be probably better to take *r* as a separate phoneme contrasting with *r*. Except in a few dialects in modern times *r* and *ṟ* do not contrast. To that extent the language of Beschi's time is different from ours. *ṟ* which is described as peculiar to Tamil [when single] is said to be equivalent to two i's i. If it is geminated it is equivalent to two *t's i. e, tt* alveolar. If it occurs after its homorganic nasal *n,* it is pronounced voiced as *d,* very soft; *ṟ*, therefore, when intervocalic was being assimilated to *rr;* and in other places to *t*.

ITS PRONUNCIATION.

There is also another important tendency in pronouncing the geminated *ṟ* its vulgar pronunciation is a geminated dental *t*. Geminated dental and geminated alveolar have then fallen together. Beschi protests against this, little knowing that the

tendency is as old as the commentary on 'Vīracōḻiyam' of the eleventh century. Beschi writes "If you write, for example, *vayattai*, it is the accusative of *vayam* 'force' and *vayaṟṟaṟ* is the accusative from *vaḷaṟu* 'the belly'. So *payattai* from *payam* "fear", *payaṟṟai* from *payaṟu* 'a kind of pulse' etc. wherefore this rule must be delegently observed". Unfortunately it can be followed only in writing *payattai* and *payaṟṟai* have become in the colloquial speech homonym.

VOWEL—LENGTH PHONEMIC

The Tamil vowels perhaps did not give much difficulties to the foreigners of Beschi's time. The only difficulty was in distinguishing the long vowels from the short ones. The length was phonemic in Tamil. In the absence of the term phoneme, Beschi is at great pains to explain the difference, which he does by referring to the pronunciation of French words like *etrange*: *revanche* [1st syllabic], *age*: *pele; tombe*: *bāton*; *mēlons* and of Latin ' ca dam and decadam.' He gives examples of contrast to show the difference in meaning [P. 12] when the quantity differs: *katam* 'anger' *kātam* 'league' *anantam* 'infinite' *ānantam* 'bliss' [P. 11]. *a, i, u, e* and *o* are the short vowels, and *ā, ī, ū, ē* and *ō* are the long vowels.

DIPHTHONG—'AU'

The Tamil alphabet has two dipthongs *ai* and *au*. Of these, he points out, that *au* is written as *av, a* followed by the consonant *v*. This is as old as *Tolkāppiyam* and shows that this dipthong given as a separate sound, thanks to the Sanskrit influence, never took root in the Tamil system where it was always looked upon as a syllable *av*. Beschi gives another reason for treating *au* as *av* based on the forms of the siripts. "*kau* and *tau* might be read *kela* and *teḷa;* wherefore this way of writing is seldom used; but in the place of the dipthong they write a short *a* and the consonant *v*." [P. 7].

DIPHTHONG—'AI'

As for the other dipthong *ai*, he notes in the section under variations in pronunciation that except in the first syllable it is pronounced as *ei* with a gentle sound. This is not really anything special to *ai*. For, that remark really applies to *a* in *ai*. This is what Beschi had noted; "*a*, at the end of a word which is a polysyllable and which after the *a* has for its last letter one of these six consonants *l*, 'ḷ' *r*, *ṉ*, *ṇ* and then the *a* is pronounced

with so gentle a sound that it seems *e* soft" [P. 13]. *pakal* is pronounced *paguel;* 'pukaḷ' 'pukal' *cuvar* as *suver;* but *palam* is never *palem;* monosyllables like *nal,* etc., are not *nel* etc., [P. 13.] Dr. Caldwell without acknowledging his indebtedness to Beschi writes as follows. "The vowel *a* occurring in the last syllable of *a* word ending in *ṉ*, *ṇ*, *r*, *ṟ*, 'ḻ' and *ḷ* acquires a slender sound resembling that of *e*". Now we will represent this slender *e* as the shwa 'ə.' If Dr. Caldwell has taken note of this general rule, as Beschi had, he would not have made the mistake of concluding that Tamil dipthong *ai* is represented always by the dipthong *ei.* Dr. Caldwell had failed to notice that in monosyllables and in the first syllable of polysyllables this dipthong is pronounced as *ai* and it is only in other places it is pronounced as *ei* or as a short sound. This is noted by the Tamil Grammarians also, as *aikārakuṟukkam* or the short *ai.* Beschi always writes this as *ei, udeimei* etc. [P. 13] and this is also found in the Tamil grammar in the Dutch.

THE 'I'

There is another variation in pronunciation, in addition to that of *a* and *ai.* This relates to *i* which "before *r* is generally pronounced so lax that it seems not to exist" [P. 14]. There is only a release of the *r* that is heard as a vowel sound *pirakācam,* as *pragasam cikkiram* as *sicram.* In these two cases one may point out that they are Sanskrit words and in the original Sanskrit there is no *i.* But the same thing happens in Tamil words also etc.—*irukkiṟatu, ccykiṟatu* where *kiṟ* is pronounced as *kṟ*, *i* or *i* before *ï* is pronounced generally as *u* ;; *tamul* for *iamil* *i* before *t* is pronounced. as *ū* ;—thus *wūdu* for *vīḍu.* Perhaps the confusion of *i* and *u* has to be analysed and decided with greater care because we have cases of *u* becoming *i* e.g. *puli* becoming *pili.* Perhaps both had become centralised and coalesced in contexts where there were retroflexes.

DOUBLE AND SINGLE PLOSIVES

Beschi has noted certain phonetic features in the language. The geminated consonants were in his age phonetically single consonants. The information gives us something more than the law of the convertibility of surds into sonants. The statement for *k* is given specifically and similar statements are made with reference to other plosives as well "*k* in the beginning of a word is equivalent to our *k;* but in the middle, if it be single, it has the force of *g;* if doubled, of *k*" [P. 9]. Here

we find *kk* is only *k*. This contrast between *k* and *g* is shown in the written system as between double *k* and single *k*. This will require *kk* being looked upon as a phoneme, contrasting with *k*. Similarly for other plosives. In my introduction to *Mākapurāṇa ammāṉai* I have dealt with this change affecting prosody as well [p. 16]. This principle is followed in transliterating the Tamil single and double consonants, e.g., *kakam* 'crow' as *kagam*, *kākka*, to protect as *kāka*. But there are cases in which the transliteration carelessly follows the Tamil writting system *'pattirattinode'* [P. 11].

'R' AND 'Ṟ' COALESCENCE

Beschi also points out certain mistakes committed by those who are not learned in the language. These are important for us as showing the tendency found in the colloquial speech. *ṟ*, the trill never occurs as a final consonant in any word but the mistake was often committed in writing the trill *ṟ* instead of the flap *r*. The same mistakes, he finds, committed inside a word even where the flap *r* with the dative case sign will denote the plural whilst the trill *ṟ* will denote the singular. This shows the coalescence of the two old phonemes *r* and *ṟ* into a single phoneme. He also notes the wrongful omission of the flap *r* when followed by a nasal or plosive. *cērutu* is pronounced *sēndu*. Probably this is an old tendency ; in metre medial *n* following a *r*, *y* or *ḻ* may rhyme with *n* not following any by *r* or *y* or *l*, e.g. *sērndu sēndu*. He also points out that *ṉṟ* becomes a geminated *ṉṉ*. eg. *kaṉṟu—kaṉṉu*.

MORPHOPHONEMICS

'M'-'L'-'Ḷ' ASSIMILATION

In section IV he points out certain morphophonemic alternations. What we will now call morphophonemic alterations he speaks of as variations in the form of letters. The nasal *m* becomes the respective homorganic nasal before plosives. The lateral *l* becomes *ṟ* before plosives; so also *ḷ* becomes *ṭ* in the same environment. *t* becomes *ṭ* after *ṇ* and *ṟ* after *ṉ*. In the colloquial speech and also in the writings of those who are not well educated, the final *l* and *ḷ* do not undergo any such change but the plosives following these laterals are geminated. This is how it is written in Malayalam even now. This system of writing is even now very much in vogue in the southern districts of the Tamil country.

GLIDES

Beschi refers to the avoidance of a concourse of vowels—what Dr. Caldwell calls the prevention of hiatus when a word ends in a vowel and the succeeding one begins in a vowel. "No account," Beschi states, "is made of the vowel which follows,—that which precedes alone being considered." In modern language one speaks of the off glide or the semivowel *y* after *i ī, ai,* and *e* and the off glide *v* after the other vowels. He points out that even the natives who are not well educated write *y* for *v*. Unfortunately he gives no example for such a mistake; but we know in Classical and Colloquaial Dialects there were cases of on glides, which probably what Beschi refers to. In the later day manuscripts, *i* was uniformly written as *yi* even when the preceding vowel was *v*. This *y* is not really a glide but represents the pronunciation of *i* Dr. Caldwell and other foreigners have noted that the *i* even initially is heard pronounced as *yi*. There is also another tendency for the initial *y* to be lost. Beschi points this out with reference to *yār* becoming *ār*, though he might have generalised with reference to call initial *yā*.

KUṚṚIYAL-UKARAM

But when the word ends in a vowel *u*, except in those words which have two short syllables, with no two consonants preceding the *u*, the *u* itself is lost where followed by another vowel, and there is no glide. This *u* is the ancient *kuṛṛiyalu karam*.

MONOSYLLABIC WORD

When there is a short monosyllabic word ending in a consonant the later doubles when it is followed by a vowel. This is probably to retain the individuality and the quantity of the monosyllabic word.

HAPLOLOGY

There are cases where the intervocal plosives are lost when the short vowels either side unite and become one long syllable. Beschi does, not generalise this way but refers to *ivarkaḷ* where *r* disappears (see *r* above) and becomes, *ivāḷ* > *avargaḷ* >*avāḷ* in the Brahmin Dialect [P. 35].

DOUBLING OF THE PLOSIVE

When a word ends in a vowel and is followed by a word beginning with a plosive more often than not, the plosive

doubles itself. Unless one knows the rules, one is likely to make horrible mistakes in this respect. Beschi has given us practical help by framing sixteen rules which he says he had learnt by long experience and accurate study. This is an important contribution and the writers of the 19th century had all taken advantage of these rules in writing their grammar books in Tamil.

III. MORPHOLOGY—NOUNS

STYLES OF SPEECH

Here we must point out that Beschi is refering to two styles of speech, as may be seen from the following sentence: "But as, in that case the *l* is more elegantly changed into *ṟ* then these letters are not doubled" He also distinguishes social dialects. See his reference to Brahmin dialect where *avarkaḷ* becomes *avāḷ*.

ORTHODOXY

The second thing to be noted is that though as already pointed out, he knows of morphonemic alternation, he follows the orthodox grammarians so very much that he sees there only variation of letters or addition of letters, though the latter way of speaking may be justified with reference to glides. If he has spoken in terms of morphophonemic alternations, the allomorphs of the same morphomes might have became patent and recognisable and their alternations might have been explained in terms of morphological ['alvaḻi' or *vēṟṟumai*] or phonological conditions.

GENDER AND NUMBER

So far we have dealt with only the first chapter. There are four more chapters. The second chapter deals with the nouns and pronouns in five sections. The first section deals with the decrension of nouns, the second with adjectives and the third with pronouns and the fourth with pronoun-adjectives and the fifth with gender.

TIṆAI

The Tamilians, Beschi points out in the fifth Section, distinguish only two genders, the sublime gender—*uyartiṇai* and the inferior gender—*akrinai* All rational beings are of the

sublime gender. All other things are of the inferior gender. Perhaps it is not correct to speak of *tiṇai* or classes as genders. Dr. Caldwell speaks of these two classes as high caste nouns and casteless nouns.

It is only in the third person that this distinction is found, though Beschi does not give the subdivisions under these two major heads; his examples suggest them. The 'sublime gender' distinguishes the masculine and the feminine only in the singular while in its plural there is no such distinction. In the inferior gender the distinction is between the singular and the plural.

NEUTER: ITS PECULIAR USES

There is one important remark which Beschi makes here, that the Tamils use the neuter gender to men whom they wish to honour very greatly. If we are to be guided by modern usage, the word 'men' also includes women. When it is felt that it will be insulting to speak in the masculine or feminine singular, even now in the colloquial language, the neuter singular is used when referring to one's own brother or sister. This explains the neuter singular being preferred for feminine not because women are considered as chattels but because of the feeling of respect. Beschi seems to suggest, though this is not wholly correct, that the honorific use of the neuter singular was due to the usage, coming from ancient times, of referring to God and angels in the neuter gender.

ADJECTIVES

He has also noticed in his second section on Adjectives, that the Tamilians distinguish by genders neither the adjectives nor the articles. Nor do these vary according to gender or number or case [P. 33]. Except *ellām* which is really not an exception being a noun all the other adjectives, he points out, are placed immediately before the principal noun [P. 33]. He translates the term *uriccol* as adjectives [P. 31]. This is a mistake which subsequent writers including later Tamil grammarians have perpetuated. *Uriccol* refers to root as distinguished from other suffixes or *iṭaiccol*. He mentioneds *pala, cila, nalla, oru, ariya, periya, ciṟiya, uriya,* and *iṉiya* as adjectives properly so called. These are all really relative participles. He has realised as Dr. Caldwell does after him, that other words used as adjectives are really nouns, getting the significance of an adjective by being merely placed before the noun they qualify. The

position or order is significent. If one may use the term, here is an order-morphneme.

FORMATION

He gives us a few rules by which the nouns or substantives become adjectives. [1] Most of the nouns ending in *m* have the final *m* lost, when they are used as adjectives or rather qualifiers preceding noun. In all cases, *tu* may be added after the loss of final *m* or the plosive of the next word may be doubled. [2] Abstract nouns ending in *mai* have the suffix *iya* in the place of *mai* when used as qualifiers. This is the explanation which Dr. Cladwell slavishly follows. The older form of the root really ends in *i* and not in *u*. See the usage *ciṟi-y-ilai*. In such cases the suffix *a* is added. In compound forms the root or bound form of the nouns of quality, compound with the nouns following, after rejecting the *mai*. Those bound forms have a nasal-ending, only before a noun beginning with a plosive, giving thus two allomorphs, e.g. *aru/arum*. [3] Those nouns which end in *ṭu*, *ṟu*, and *mpu* become adjectives by doubling the plosive in the last syllable and losing the nasal if there were one preceding the plosive [P. 32] [4] In other cases, noun by the very fact of being placed before another noun, becomes an adjectives. An equational word *āṉ* or *uḷḷa* is sometimes added to the nouns, to give them the force of adjective. This is really a phrase as Beschi point out.

CALDWELL

Beschi, though has enumerated *nalla* etc., has not explained like Caldwell, how a nominal root with the suffix *a* becomes an adjective. He also does not, like Caldwell, look upon *perum* etc. occurring in compounds like *peruṅkaṭal*, as adjectives framed on the pattern of the future relative participle ending in *um*. Probably he does not look upon them as such, and possibly prefers to treat them as nominal roots added to other nouns. If this were so he may be taken to be true to the orthodox grammar. But really all these will come under rule No. 2 above as explained by us.

PRONOUN-ADJECTIVES

He also calls the demonstratives *i* and *a* and the interrogative *e* as pronoun-adjectives in section IV. He gives the morphophonemic alteration: the initial consonant of the next word doubles excepting *y* which gets a *v* inserted before it. e.g.

a + *māṭu*>*ammāṭu* ; *a* + *yāṉai*>*avyāṉai* According to him this is an elegant form, once again emphasies two styles of speech. Generally in the place of demonstrative pronominal and interrogative adjectives as *anta*, *inta*, *enta* *aṉṉa*, *iṉṉa* and *eṉṉa*, are used in Tamil and he calls them too, pronoun-adjectives. He states, it is suggested wrongly, that *aṉṉa* *iṉṉa* and *eṉṉa* are used for *anta* *inta* and *enta* respectively with this difference that *aṉṉa* etc. do not double the following plosive. Contrast *anta-c-col* with *aṉṉa col*. He also refers to the forms *aṉṉāṉ* etc. which ought to came under pronouns or pronominal verbs.

DECLENSION

His first section deals with the declension of nouns. There is only one declension according to him. Case is *vēṟṟumai* or differences in Tamil; and the cases, probably on the basis of what *Tolkāppiyam* states, are names after the common terminations; the nominative is the noun itself.

VIḶI

The vocative is called the case of calling i.e. *viḷivēṟṟumai*. According to him this ends generally in *e*. But he gives five rules for this case. [1] The final *ai* becomes *āy* or *ā* [2] final *i* becomes *ī*. [3] the short vowel preceding a final *ṉ* becomes lengthened. [4] The long *ā* preceding it becomes *ō* and *ṉ* changes into *y* or the final *ṉ* above is lost [5]. The short *a* preceding the final *ḷ* becomes lengthened [P. 262].

ARRANGEMENT

The other case signs he arranges as follows:—[1] The genitive *iṉ* or *iṉṉuṭaiya* or *uṭaiya* in the ordinary dialect and *iṉ* or *atu* or *iṉatu* in the higher dialect. [2] Dative ending in *ikku* [3] The accusative, that ends in *ei*. [4] He distinguished three ablatives (a) ablative of quiet or of existence, (b) ablative of instrument or cause and (c) ablative of society. The first ends in *il* or *iṭattil*, the second in *āl* or *iṉāl* and the third in *ōṭu* or *iṉōṭu*, and all the three may have the letter *e* at their end [P. 25 & 26].

COLLURUPU

He also points out that others add three other cases as ablative: *malaikkāka*, *malaiyai-k-kuṟittu*, *malai koṇṭu*. He points out that these are respectively (i) dative of advantage. (ii) the accu-

sative in the gerund *kuṟittu* and (iii) accusative in the gerund *koṇṭu* which is really an ablative of instrument. It is curious to note that when he refuses to recognise these phrases as ablatives which the later day grammarians recognise as *col-l-urupu*, a word occurring in the place of a case sign, he does not accept *uṭaiya* as the *col-urupu* of the genitive.

CALDWELL

It is also interesting to note that Beschi recognises it as a genitive case sign. Dr. Caldwell later on speaks of it along with other particles as inflectional increments or oblique case signs having the force of a genitive, and in this the influence of Beschi may be clearly recognised. It is also important that he has not referred to what is called the fifth case or ablative of motion, probably because, like Dr. Caldwell, he does not find this case sign, in his times, distinguished from what he calls the ablative of quiet, or what others call, the ablative of rest or locative. He also speaks of the third case, as really consisting of two cases the ablative of instrument or cause and the ablative of society. He has neither argued this position nor explicitly stated his conclusion. But it is clear, in all these cases, he seems to be fore-stalling Dr. Caldwell.

He also notices that the case signs are common to both the singular and plural. Nouns undergo certain changes before taking the case signs. All these changes are considered by Dr. Caldwell as oblique forms or oblique case signs rather than as *cāriyai* or empty morphemes as done by the Tamil grammarians. Nouns end in *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ṇ*, *m*, *y*, *r*, *l*, 'ḻ', *ḷ* and *ṉ*. Of these, those ending in *m* except in vocatives reject this *m* and add *tt* before taking the case sign. All other endings take the *cāriyai* *iṉ*, subject to the sandhi rules. All other endings except *ai*, *ī*, *i* and *u* interpose *u* (not the unrounded u) before taking the dative *ku*. But the pronouns interpose *a*, e.g. *eṉakku*, whilst nouns which imply time interpose *i*, e.g. *nāḷaikku*. (*nāḷai* is used as a free from also). The words ending in unrounded *u* which consists of two open syllables of which the last syllable has either *ṭ* or *ṟ* double this *ṭ* or *ṟ* before taking the case sign or *cāriyai* (Beschi warns one against writing *ṟṟ* as *tt*, though they may be pronounced as such).

PLURALISATION

In this connection itself he deals with the pluralisation of singular nouns and enunciates three rules therefore. [1] Nouns ending in a long vowel and *kkaḷ* [2] Nouns ending in *i*, *u* and *ai*

add only *kaḷ*. excepting the names of men *uyurtiṇai* the plural by adding *mār* in addition to their following the ordinary rule. He also maintains words ending in u as being exceptions since they add *kkaḷ* but this, though may be correct as far as *kuru, catturu* and *teru,* is not correct as far as *peṇṭu* This doubling is governed by the ordinary rule of sandhi. [3] Those which end in a consonant add *kaḷ*. But there are exceptions e.g. *āḷ*. *nāḷ*. Of course the masculine ending in *ṉ* [and also feminine in *ḷ* which however Beschi fails to add] change their final consonant into *r*; though *mār* can be added on to the singular high caste nouns to pluralise them. Beschi restricts this, unnecessarily, only to a few words like *takappaṉ*, *aṇṇaṉ*. The pluralised high class nouns optionally take on further, the *kaḷ*.

SINGULAR

He has also noticed another characteristic feature on which Dr. Caldwell has built his theory, that Primitive Dravidian nouns are destitude of number. Beschi writes, "Observe, however, here, that the Tamilians, themselves openly teach that neuter nouns are often used in the singular for the plural numbers."

PRONOUN

Section III dealing with the pronouns, speaks of the demonstrative, interrogative and premitive pronouns. Beschi points out that "there are no relative pronouns besides the words which serve for interrogation nor any possessive and derivative pronouns although they may exist in the more elegant dialect called centamiḻ' ".

Primitive Pronouns (Personal Pronouns) :—

Singular	obligue form having the force of genetive and the usual form taking the case sign	Plural used as Honorific singular	Real plural	Exclusive plural (Excluding the person spoken to)
nāṉ	*eṉ, nam, eṅkaḷ*	*nām*	*nāṅkaḷ*	*nām*
nī	*uṉ, um, uṅkaḷ*	*nīr*	*nīṅkaḷ*	
tāṉ	*taṉ, tam, taṅkaḷ*	*tām*	*tāṅkaḷ*	
ivāṉ	*ivaṉ, ivar*	*ivar*	*ivarkaḷ*	*ivāḷ*
avaḷ	*avaḷ, avar*	*avar*	*avukaḷ*	*avāḷ*
evaṉ	*evaṉ, evar*	*evar*	*evarkaḷ*	

It looks as though Beschi feels that *ivar* is masculine honorific whilst double plural forms like *ivarkal* as well for the masculine as or the feminine plural [P. 35].

The distinction between the inclusive and exclusive plural exists only in First Person and is special to Dravidian and Munda languages "The difference is this *nāṅkaḷ* includes the speakers and others whom, from the context it appears, he wishes to be included and always excludes him or them with whom we are speaking; but *nām* includes both speakers and hearers".

DECLENSION

With reference to the allomorphs of the primitive pronouns Beschi has the following: "*nāṅkaḷ* and *niṅkaḷ* for the first syllable in each being taken away *e* short is added to the former, and *u* short to the latter" *Tāṅkaḷ* changes a long into a short. So do *nām*, and *tām* though Beschi say so specifically.

Otherwise the declension of these pronouns do not have anything peculiar except the neuters which strike out the final *u* as in the following.

	Singular		*Plural*
Nominative,	*itu*	Normal,	*itukaḷ*
Genitive,	*itu/itiṉuṭaiya*		
Dative,	*itukku/itaṟku*		
Accusative,	*itai/ittai/itaṉai*		
Ablative 1,	*itāl*		
Ablative 2,	*itaṉāl*		
Ablotive 3,	*ittōṭu/itaṉōṭu*		

III. MORPHOLOGY—VERBS, TENSES

VERB

The third chapter is an important chapter; for it is there the verb which is the pivot in any Dravidian sentence, is dealt with in nine sections.

PERSON:

The conjugation of verbs differentiates three persons, [first person *taṉmai*, second person *mnṉnilai*; and third person, *paṭaṟkai*.]

The gender distrinction, already noted as follows,

	Singular	Plural
Uyartiṇai	masculine feminine	
Akṛinai	singular	plural

holds good only in the third person. In the other persons, singular and plural alone are distinguished. The number, person and gender are denoted by the final suffix of the finite verb.

person		ordinary singular		honorofic singular	plural
I.		*ēṉ*			*ōm*
II.		*āy*		*īr*	*īrkaḷ*
III.	*Uyartiṇai*	[Mas -	Fem]		
		āṉ	*āḷ*	*ār*	*ārkaḷ*
	Akṛiṇai	*tu*			*tu*

This is made clear in pronominal declension already given by Beschi. These suffixes do not undergo any change in any conjugationn of the tenses. One has only to add the suffix to the base conjugated according to the required tense. [P. 41].

DIFFICULTY

Tense base is therefore important and therein lie all the difficulties of conjugation "about finding the first [i.e. basic] form of the tenses." The tense signs are not many. But their initial sometimes gets added before it a homorganic nasal, or sometimes remains without any change whatever. And it is this what Beschi speaks of as the difficulty in finding out the first form of the tenses.

TENSES

Beschi translates the names of the three Tamil tenses as follows: [1] time passing, i.e., the 'nikaḻkālam'. Beschi gives however, the colloquial form 'nekiḻkālam'. *i* of the initial syllable occurs as *e* in the colloquial speech whenever it is not followed by the front vowel in the next syllable in literary Tamil.]

[2] time elapsed, i.e., the past *iṛanta kālam.*

[3] time approaching, i.e., the future, *etir kālam*.

Past tense signs are [1] *t* [it becomes *ṭ* or *ṛ* according to

Sandhi rules] [2] *in* and [3] the doubling of the second syllable plosive where the root consists of two open short syllables. Present tense signs are [1] *kiṉṟu* [2] *kiṟu* [3] *āniṉṟu*. But Beschi mentions only *kiṟu*, probably because it alone occurs in the colloquial usage of his time. Future tense signs are [1] *v*, or [2] *p*; occurring whenever in other tenses the doubling of the tense sign occurs and also after root ending in a nasal [P. 50-51], *v* occurring elsewhere.

PRESENT TENSE

In this study it is the past tense that is important and historically also its forms are older, whereas comparatively speaking the present tense forms are newcomers. Beschi however starts his explanation of the conjugation with the present tense. Secondly, though he has recognised the final suffixes above mentioned as independant entities, he still speaks of *kiṟatu*, really a compound of the tense sign and the neuterfinite suffix, as the basis from which, he states, all verbs are formed. From this, by changing the termination suitably *kiṟēṉ* [first person singular], etc., are found. He does not isloate the present tense sign either as *kiṟ* or *kiṟu*. This remainds us of 'Vīracōḻiyam' which following the Sanskrit grammar looks upon the compound particle itself as the finite suffix which will vary in the conjugation as *kiṟāy*, etc. according to number, gender and person required. This way of explaining the forms was probably popular or it may be that this way of explaining came in handy to one like Beschi familiar with Latin conjugation. It will be later seen that while he is discussing the preterite or the future, he does not care to isolate the past tense morphemes.

PECULIAR USAGE

In the third person neutral the form *ceykiṟēṉ* became in the colloquial language *ceykutu* or *ceyyutu;* the roots ending in *u* like *collu* add only *tu;* the roots ending in *ai* or *y* add *kutu* or *utu*; there is the general possibility of the final *y* doubling after a short syllable. There is one other fact which Beschi points out about the present, viz., that it is often used for a future especially in he epistolary time. This leads us to suspect that the future and the present are not very well distinguished, probably because the well rooted distinction in the language is only betwees the past and the non-past. There is nothing more said about the present tense.

PRETERITE

The second section deals with the preterite. Though Beschi starts with the present tense, the tenor of the section shows the importance of the past tense stem so as to be the basis of conjugation. This tense it is, that bristles with difficulties. As Beschi puts it, 'there are more rules for preterite and there is scarcely one which does not require much exception'. [P. 43]. He has given us a kind of amnemonic rule in the form of a doggeral Latin verse which has been translated into English as follows: —

The letter next preceding *cradu* or *gradu* shows.
The preterite: for those which double *ca* the rule is this.
Ya consonant, and *ra, i, u,* and *ai* give *tēn*;
A anden gives; all long unite with *kinēn*. But in verbs.
In *gradu, nga* gives *guinen; na, den; ṉa, den* give;
U commonly adds *inēn*; *lu* demands *dēn*; *ru dēn*; *lu, dēn*;
Lu varies: *ya, i* and *ai* give *ndēn*; long vowels vary,
Experience will teach yet more, on all sides, vary.

THE RULES OF THUMB

Beschi's book is intended as a guide for those who learn the Tamil language for the first time and therefore it does not attempt to explain any basic principles of grammar. After the present tense has been mastered, he suggests how the preterite forms may be formed from them with the help of these rules of the thumb.

'TTĒN'

In the preterite, Beschi's rules give the following varieties. For instance, as the past first person singular he gives [1] *ttēṉ* [2] *ntēṉ* [3] *kkiṉēṉ*. All these are framed from the present form *kkirēṉ*. These belong to those rules which get the initial of the present tense sign *kiṟu* doubled. The form *ttēṉ* is taken by roots ending in *r, y, i, u* or *ai* except *iru* which though takes the form *kkiṟēṉ* in the present tena takes only *ntēṉ* and not *ttēṉ* in the past. This is Beschi's rule No. 1.

The form *ntēṉ* is taken by roots ending in short *a* [someone has excepted *maṉa* and Beschi correctly points out that it is not excepted]. Here he states that this rule does not apply to those roots which have only one syllable before *kkiṟatu*; for, these in the preterite have *kkiṉēṉ*. As he himself realizes, the

exceptions are syncopated forms; *kākkiṟēṉ* the syncopated form of *kārkkukiṟēṉ*. In all these cases where the root is *ākku* ending in *u* and where really the past tense sign is *iṉ* e.g. *ākkiṉ-ēṉ*.

'KKIṈĒṈ'

Rule No. 3 takes all long syllables which unite with *kkiṉēṉ*. Here he points out that this applies not only to roots like *kā*, but also to syncopated forms e.g. *ākkiṟēṉ* [syncopated form of *ākkukiṟēṉ*] which has the past tense form *ākkiṉēṉ*, where really the past tense sign is *iṉ*. For making this exception clear he has to state this *u*-rule [getting *iṉēṉ*] under two heads [para 60. U-2], [i] those where *u* is succeeded by *c, t, p* either single or double or those by *ṉ*, *ṇ*, *v*, or *m*. [2] as distinguished from those whose *u* is preceded by *k ṭ* or *ṟ* These latter are the forms which get synocpated.

EXCEPTIONS

But there are exceptions to both these; e.g. *ī*, *ṉ*, and *u* take in the preterite, e.g. *iṉṟēṉ* under the first category. Under the second category, *pōṭu* takes the preterite form *pōṭṭēṉ*. If before *ku*, *ṭu*, and *ṟu* there is only one short ayllable then that conconants *k*, *ṭ*, and *ṟ* being doubled, the preterite does not end in, *iṉ*, But these are really the cases of doubling the plosive in the second syllable and should have been dealt with under a separate rule. Here are also exceptions where the roots *miku* and *puku* have both the forms *mikkēṉ* and *mikuntēṉ*, *pukkēṉ* and *pukuntēṉ*. Here the former are the origial forms whilst the latter are analogical formation based on the more common forms.

SYNCOPES

Though this rule of the thumb may be helpful to understand the colloquial forms, it would have been better therefore to treat the syncopated forms under rule 1 of para 59 [P. 45], applicable to roots ending in *u* and to explain the syncopation separately. Beschi himself hastens to add other syncopated forms like *aṭakkutu* for *aṭakkukiṟatu* which also takes *kkiṉ* in the past This is the active form of the neutral verbs.

neutral	active
aṭaṅku	*aṭakku*
oṭuṅku	*oṭukku*
naṭuṅku	*naṭukku*
nīṅku	*nīkku*

Apart from these active forms there are others which are to end in *kṛatu* but which however end in the synocopated form *kkiṛatu*.

original from	syncopated form
cetukkukiṛatu	*cetukkiṛatu*
muṭukkukiṛatu	*muṭukkiṛ atu*
aṭukkukiṛatu	*aṭukkiṛatu*
ākkukiṛatu	*ākkiṛatu*
pōkkukiṛatu	*pōkkiṛatu*

The syncopated forms are alone taken into consideration. They take the preterite *kkiṉēṉ*. All these really having roots ending in *u* and therefore taking *iṉ* as the past tense morpheme. Beschi is aware of this and so speaks of the synocopated forms in the latter rule in para 60. If so it is not clear, why he should treat the synocopated forms of *ākku* and *tūkku* in para 67 and not in para 60 where above they must come.

DESCRIPTION

A descriptive linguist is not bothered about the literal form when not in current use and so he proceeds to analyse the colloquial forms even when they are syncopated forms. Therefore Beschi is justified in this procedure. The original forms given by him are only for the purpose of understanding the literary usage, if ever the redaer comes across them in learned works. Beschi also distinguishes the syncopated forms from the fuller forms: "we must have recourse to the word of the imperative; for in the imperative the verb *naṭakkiṛatu* has *naṭa*; *aṭakkiṛatu* has *aṭakku*."

RULES FOR 'KIṚATU'

So from the verbs ending in the present tense neuter, *kkiṛatu*, Beschi proceeds to consider those ending inding in *kiṛatu*, i.e. those which do not double the initial of the present tense morpheme. He gives five rules for arriving at the past tense form from their present tense forms.

RULE No, 1

According to the First rule if *kkiratu* is preceded, [a] by *ṅ*, the past first person singular is *ṅkiṉēṉ*.

[e. g.] *vaṉaṅkiṛaṭu* > *vaṉaṅkiṉēṉ* [this is also unfortunately a case if syncopation of *vaṉaṅkukiṛatu*]

[b] if by *ṇ*, *kiṟēṉ* > *ṭēṉ*

[e.g.] *uṇkiṟēṉ* > *uṇṭēṉ*

[c] if by *ṉ*, *kiṟēṉ* > *ṉēṉ*

[e.g.] *tiṉkiṟēṉ* > *tiṉṟēṉ*

Rule No 2:—According to rule No. a all the roots which end in *u* take *iṉēṉ* in the past tense except-roots ending in *ku*, *ṭu* or *ṟu* preceded by only one short [open] syllable. In the latter case the final syllable is doubled without more denoting the past tense.

e.g. *naku—nakkēṉ*.

Exception—For making this exception clear he has to state the U-rule under two heads, (a) those which end in *ku*, *ṭu*, or *ṟu* and (b), those other than these ending in *u*.

Rule No. 3:—The third rule relates to roots ending in *ḷu*, *ru*, and *lu*.

(a) Roots originally ending in *ḷu* become *ṇ* and take the termination *ṭēṉ*.

[e. g.] *uruḷ* [*uruḷu*] > *uruṇṭēṉ*

If there are double *ḷ*s preceding the final '*u*' the preterite euds *iṉēṉ*.

[e. g.] *taḷḷu* > *taḷḷiṉēṉ*

While explaining the colloquial forms, the explanations of ancient forms are of no use. The *u* has come as an enunciative in these cases not only in the imperative forms but also internally within the words after the root. Here again are exceptions.

e.g. *aruḷu* has *aruḷiṉēṉ* though having only one *ḷ*.
viḷḷu though having two *ḷ* 's has only *viṇṭēṉ* in the preterite.

(b) Those which end in *lu* get the *l* changed into *ṉ* and add the termination *ṟēṉ* The explanation about the enunciative *u* mentioned above applies here as well. The exceptions to this rule about *lu* are as follows:

(e.g.) *col* which becomes *coṉṉēṉ*.

Nillu has the form *niṟkiṟatu* The latter form according to Beschi is a syncopated form of *nillukiṟatu* and therefore it is not an exception according to him. But this explanation can-

not be accepted; even if accepted it does not help us to predict when such syncopation will occur. This has to be treated as a separate conjugation because we have number of similar roots, namely *vil, kal* etc.

(*c*) The *ru* preceding *kiratu* takes *ntēn* in the preterite.
(e.g.) *tirkiratu* > *tirntēn*.

Exceptions are, *vāru* becoming *vārinēn*, *varukrēn* becoming *vantēn* [where it is lost] *porukirēn* becoming *porutēn* [where the nasal is absent]. This really ought to have been treated as a separate conjugation as may be seen from what follows:

(d) If the root ends in 'ḷu' it takes tēn in the preterite.
e.g. 'aḷukiratu' > 'aḷutēn.'
Others reject the *u* and to the 'ḷ' add suffix *ntēn*.
e.g. 'vāḷukiratu' > 'vāḷntēn.'

'Viḷu' retains the *u* but gets the suffixes *ntēn*, because its alternative form 'viḷ' takes only *ntēn*.

The morphophonemic alternation of the roots 'viḷu/viḷ' are not here taken into consideration by Beschi; 'muḷukiratu-'mūḷkinēn etc. as Beschi himself points out, the real form is 'muḷukukiratu' where the roots end in *ku* taking therefore *inēn* as suffix in the preterite according to the ordinary u-rule.

Rule No. 4:—Rule number Four deals with *y, i* or *ai* preceding *kiratu* and these take *ntēn* in the first person singular preterite. *vai, pey, cey* and *ney* are exceptions taking only tēn. These latter can be differentiated from *aṭai* etc. as short monosyllables, [*vai* may be taken as *vay*]. Beschi points out that these also get *ntēn* in the pronounciation of the lowest class of people. Even now in some modern dialects, these are pronounced as *ceyñjēn, neyñjēn* etc. Probably all these roots also ended originally in a nasal. It is for consideration whether in all cases where one has the suffix *ntēn*, one may not consider *n* as the nasal ending of the root leaving *t* alone as the preterite morpheme.

DIGRESSION: VULGARITY

One may pause here to consider the remarks of Beschi. He refers to the palatalization of the dentals in the preterite, where-

ever *e* or *i* precedes *kiṟatu* in the present tense, e.g. *aṟiñjēṉ aṭaiccēṉ* for *aṟintēṉ* and *aṭaittēṉ*. He however feels that the palatalization is not elegant. He also refers to the barbarous and vulgar pronunciation of *ceytatu* as *ceytutu*. This is a valuable hint for the historian of Tamil Phonology.

DIGRESSION: BESCHI'S PREFERENCE.

But these harsh remarks of his show that though Beschi is writing on the common dialect, he is only for the elegant style. Therefore he points out that those roots which take *iṉatu* in third person singular preterite elegantly have instead *iṟṟu* e.g. *aṭaṅkiṉatu* > 'aṭaṅkiṟṟu'. He adds more significantly, "Some in place of *ṟṟ* add *cc* and say *aṭaṅkiccu* which, however is not so elegant; others to both ways add *tu*, e.g. *colliṟṟutu* which however is altogether a mistake" [perhaps this is the case of hyper-urbanism]. "Others finally use this termination in other preterites also, *atu vantatu* > *atu vanticcu*, [perhaps like' *colliccu* etc.] as generally men of the lowest caste of *parriahs* are accustomed to speak. He is also right in stating that *āccu* is a vulgarisation of *āyiṟṟu* and not of *āṉatu* etc. Apart from showing his contempt for the so called vulgar speech, these remarks are important as revealing to us the changes that have taken place in the colloquial language. The commentary 'Viracōḻiyam' of the eleventh century points out that in some regions *ṟṟ* is pronounced as *tt* which is even to-day the colloquial pronunciation. It also points out that in some other regions this *tt* is further changed to *cc* [palatalization]. The example given is *veṟṟilai* > *vettilai* > *veccilai*. This is the very thing referred to by Beschi as vulgar pronunciation.

Rule No. 5:—With this digression, one may pass on to rule Five according to which long syllables proceeding *kiṟatu* vary. (a) *ākiṟatu* > *āṉēṉ*; 'pōkiṟtu' > 'pōṉēṉ' These are really the syncopated form of *ākiṉēṉ* or *āyṉēṉ* and 'pōkiṉēṉ' or 'pōyiṉēṉ' respectively. (b) *Cākiṟatu* > *cettēṉ*, one has to point out that this has an interesting history behind it. Old Tamil did not tolerate *ca* in the initial syllable and hence *a* after the palatal *c* became palatalized into *e*. In view of the frequency of this form, it has continued into modern times. Otherwise it is merely a case of the imperative with an initial long vowel getting it shortened in past tense as explained under (c) *vēkiṟatu* > *ventēṉ*. The long inital syllable accord-

ing to Dr. Emeaneau becomes shortened when followed by the suffix.

FUTURE

Section III deals with the future where Beschi explains their formations on the basis of the past tense forms and the present tense forms.

(1) All that have *kiṉēṉ* or *kkiṉēṉ* in the preterite replace it in the future by *kuvēṉ*.

(2) Those which end in *kkiṟatu* in the present have in the future *ppēṉ* [*kēṭkiṟatu* is taken as *kēṭpēṉ*].

(3) Those which end in *kiṟatu* have in the future *vēṉ*- But those which have *ṇ* or *ṉ* before *kiṟatu* add *pēṉ* e.g. *uṇpēṉ*, *tiṉpēṉ*.

Those which end in *lu*, ḻu or 'ḷu' (e.g. *colvēṉ* *mīḷvēṉ* 'vāḻvēṉ' except in the case of 'aḻu' ['aḻuvēṉ'] elegantly omit the enunciative *u*, though it is retained in the colloquial speech.

(4) But in the third person neuter these rules do not apply but (a) those which end in *kkiṟatu* change this into *kkum* and (b) those which end in *kiṟatu* reject this ending and add *um*. The *u* vowel preceding *kiṟatu* is struck out and then *um* is added. No other vowel is so struck out. If the vowel be long either *m* or *kum* is added e.g. 'pō' > 'pōm' / 'pōkum'. If there be a consonant before *kiṟatu* before *um* is added, the consonant is doubled but only if it is preceded by a single short syllable. Those which have *kuvēṉ* in the first person always have *kum* in the third person neuter.

REMARKS.

(1) It will be thus seen that Beschi does not isolate and recognise the future tense morpheme *p* or *v*. It would have been easier to explain the future tense if they have been recognised.

(2) He points out long before Dr. Caldwell that there is neither imperfect nor optative nor subjunctive in Tamil though there are ways of supplying them through peculiar syntactic constructions as he himself points out.

(3) Dr. Caldwell denies that there is more than one conjugation in Tamil. All the differences however cannot be

brought under the sandhi rules. Dr. Graul distinguishes thirteen conjugations and his classification has been followed in the Tamil lexicon. Beschi himsely points out (1) *ttēṉ* (2) *niēṉ* (3) *iṉēṉ* (4) *tēṉ* (5) *ṭēṉ* (6) *ṟēṉ*. He does not refer to *ṭṭēṉ*, *ṟṟēṉ*. If he had distinguished the roots ending in *ṇ* and *ṉ* from the roots ending in *l* and *ḷ* which however become *n* and *ṇ* in the past tense, we would have really four instead of two that he gives. If these are added to the six, we will get ten classes. (7) *l* > *ṉ* (8) *ḷ* > *ṇ* (9) *ṉ* (10) *ṇ* (all these are endings of roots). The roots ending in two short open syllables which get the plosive in the second syllable doubled in preterite as mentioned by Beschi himself forms the eleventh class. Roots like *naṭa* though behaving like *aṇi* etc. in the past tense, behave differently in the future and in the present because they get *pp* in the future and *kkiṟ* as the present tense morpheme. This will be the twelfth case. The miscellaneous cases like *cā*, *vā*, etc. which change into *ce*, *van* etc. form the thirteenth group. Therefore it is possible to recognize all these thirteen groups in the description of Beschi himself except perhaps those taking *ṟṟ* and *ṭṭ* as the preterite morpheme.

MORPHOLOGY-VERBS, MOODS

CAUSALS.

Section Four deals with the imperative called in Tamil *ēval* 'command'. If the present tense suffixes are omitted, what remains is the imperative. As Beschi looks upon *niṟkiṟatu* etc. as syncopations of *nillukiṟatu* etc., these form no exceptions. The enunciative *u* as already mentioned, after the consonants may be omitted as the elegant style. Similarly *aṭakkiṟatu*, etc. are syncopated forms of *aṭakkukiratu*, etc. and so these are also not exceptions. The exceptions are *varukiṟatu* and *tarukiṟatu* which have *vā* and *tā* as the imperative.

IMPERATIVES.

Beschi speaks of honorary singular imperatives which usually add *um* to the imperative root.

e.g. *col* > *collum*, The exceptions are (1) *pō* which adds only *m*, *pōm* and (2) *vā* (3) *tā* which add *rum* (*vārum*, *tārum*) to the ordinary imperative root. To this honorary singular if *kōḷ* is added, one gets the plural imperative (*collnum-kōḷ*). Beschi states further: "For the other person they use the word of the future tense". This is rather misleading unless we read this

with the sentence coming far below. "Another mode of imperative is to add to each person of the future, *āka*, the infinitive, from the verb, *ākiṟatu*'. This itself leads us on to the elegant form of the imperative in all the persons which is formed by using the words of the infinitive. This method is used when one speaks with a highly notable personage. He adds, "In this sense we often add *um* to the word infinitive" e.g. *uaravum.*

INFINITIVE

Section Five deals with the infinitive. Those which end in *kkiṟatu* add instead *kka* to form the infinitive, and elsewhere instead of *kiṟatu*, *ka* is added. Sometimes instead of *ka*, *a* alone is added with necessary sandi changes, e.g. *peṟu* > *peṟa*; *aṟi* > *aṟi-y-a.*

DEFECT?

One would have expected Beschi to start with the past tense stem and to proceed to explain other conjugations of finite verbs and non-finite verbs. But since he had followed a different method, he treats *viṉaieccam* and *peyareccam* in section six. *Eccam* is a non-finite verbal form. If that form qualities a noun it is called *peyareccam*. That non-finite form which modifies a verb is *viṉaieccam*. He however translates *eccam* as 'a defect': *viṉaiccam* he transltaes as 'a defect of the verb' and he justifies this curious interpretation by the following explanation after equating *viṉaieecam* with Latin gerund in *do*:—"For the grerund has the force and meaning of the verb, but since it is not conjugated through the persons and tenses it is said to fall short somewhat of the design of the verb". The orthodox grammarians may not accept this. Basing this conclusion on the Latin grammar, he states that there is only one gerund in Tamil though the other gerunds could be expressed through various syntactic constructions. Dr. Caldwell labels this *viṉaieccam* as the verbal participle. The linguistic survey has used a better term *'conjunctive participle'*.

GERUND

He explains the formation of the gerund from the perterite. (1) If the preterite ends in *iṉēṉ*, one needs to omit only *ṉēṉ* to get at the gerund form. [2] All others remove the final *ēṉ* from the preterite and add *u*. The exceptions are *āṉēṉ* and *pōṉēṉ* which have the gerunds respectively *āki* or *āy* and *pōki* or *pōy*.

SYNTAX

Like the orthodox grammarians here alone he states about their syntax. "This gerund can never be governed by another noun than which governs the following verb; which verb may not be another gerund but either the principal verb completing the sentence or the infinitive or the participle, etc. which is observed in Latin in respect of gerund in *do*. But the gerund *āy* is an exception when it serves to form adverbs from noun."

PARTICIPLES

Peyareccam is called a participle. The Tamil word is translated as "the defect of the noun" and he explains:—"For it has the significance of the noun and not declined through cases, genders and numbers. But the very same word of the participle serves for every case, gender and number, whence Tamilians say well, that it falls short of the design of the noun". This is rather curious and incorrect. Both the *eççams* are looked upon as verbs though not finite verbs. The Tamil language does not contemplate any agremeent between attribute and its head nouns.

THEIR TENSES

There are three participles of the present, of the preterite and of the future. (1) The present participle is according to him formed by taking away the final *tu* from *kiṛatu* or *kkiṛatu* [2] The past participle is formed by taking away the final *ēṉ* from the first person singular preterite and by adding the short *a* (3) The future participle is the very word of the third person future neuter, ending in *um*. The only difference between the finite form and the non-finite form, though Beschi does not explains this, is that the latter precedes the head noun to which it is an attribute, whereas the former occurs at the end of the sentence as the predicate. He adds that the present tense past participle corresponds with those known to Europeans. The future participle supplies the duty discharged by the relative 'who' or 'which' that Tamil wants. Beschi points out that the future participles can be elegantly used for the present participles.

THE NEGATIVE MOOD

It was probably Beschi who first realised the importance of the negative verbs, *etir maṛai*. This he treats in section VII.

They according to him, form a seperate mood. Dr. Caldwell must have been inspired by Beschi but he speaks of a negative voice. Perhaps it will be more proper to speak of the negative as a mood rather than as a voice. The voice has to do with the relationship between the subject and the verb, the verb and its object or the verb and some other noun whilst mood has to do with the various kinds of the event in relation to desirability, reality, contingency etc.

FORMATION THEORY

The peculiarity according to Beschi is that the negative is expressed without any particle of negation. The absence of any tense, which usually occurs between the root and the suffix itself serves the purpose of a negative particle according to the Tamil grammarians. Some speak of zero tense morpheme itself as the negative morpheme; that is, it is an alternative morppeme. Dr. Caldwell has argued for recognising *a* as the negative morpheme which alone explains why the otherwise short vowel of the suffix is always long in negative verbs. But for descriptive analysis one need not go into historical and comparative explanations. Therefore Beschi's analysis seems to hold good.

PROCEDURE, FINITE FORMS

(a) The final suffix is added to the imperative. The rules about the glides and the dealing of the final consonants after a short monosyllable apply here also. [b] If there is only a long monosyllable before *kiṟatu*, the basic form from which Beschi works out his transformation, *kēṉ* is added to form the first person singular verb which he takes as the kernel from which other forms can be derived. That is why he states, "This form being given the verb negative is conjugated as the positive". This explains his approach and procedure generally followed here. [c] In the third person, the neuter has *ātu* instead of *atu*, e.g. *ceyyātu* or the neuter *tu* also is thrown out, e.g. *ceyyā* but he fails to mention that this latter form occurs only in the literal dialect for neuter plural. [d] The imperative negative is formed by changing the final *u* into (*ē*) of the kernal form i.e. here the third person neuter e.g. *ceyyātu* > *ceyyātē*. The *ē* is the old second personal suffix [e]. The imperative honorary is formed by adding *um* to the ordinary imperative, e.g. *ceyyātēm* [f]. If 'kōḷ' is added to this one gets the second person plural negative e.g. *ceyyātēyuṅkōḷ*.

NON-FINITE FORMS.

(1) The gerund has the same form as the third person neuter *ceyyātu*. Often *ē* is suffixed to this (2). The *tu* of the kernal is replaced by *mal* in the second form of the gerund e.g. *ceyyāmal*. (b) If the *tu* becomes *ta* (*ceyyāta*) or if *tu* is removed (*ceyyā*) one gets the participle. The difference is shown in sandhi. Whilst the initial plosive of the following word does not double after *ceyyāta*, it does after *ceyyā*. The participle signifies not only what is not being done or has not been done, but also what is not to be done.

TENSES

(a) "The negative is properly used for the future." It is an idiom in the language to use the future for the preterite wherever it implies habit.

(b) By adding the auxiliary *iru* conjugated in all tenses persons and numbers to the gerund of the negative verb, one gets all the tenses.

ANALYTICAL NEGATIVE

(a) All along have been described what one describes as the Synthetic negative form of verb where in one word, the action, the person and the negative are denoted. The negative is also denoted by a separate word in an analytic way—separating the ideas of agent, action and negative and denoting each by a separate word, e.g. *avaṉ* [he] *ceyya* [done] *illai* [no]. Here the negative *illai* is added to the word of the confirmative for every tense, person and number. [b] Beschi writes, "Like the dative they sometimes add to a positive verb a negative particle *illai*". This is the second method, e.g. *ceytēṉ illai* [c] *illai* is added to the verbal formed from the participles, e.g. *ceykiṟatu illai, ceytatu illai, ceyvatu illai.*

PASSIVE VOICE

According to Beschi there are no verbs which in truth of themselves are passive" in Tamil. Dr. Caldwell's statement that the Dravidian languages are destitute of the passive voice properly so called, can be therefore seen to be based on a generalisation made on Beschi's statements, so as to be applicable to all the Dravidian languages. Really speaking Beschi must have dealt with thiis in the next chapter where in section III he speaks of the methods of supplying such moods voices and tenses, which are absent in Tamil. Perhaps he feels that the

form used for bringing out the passive significance, though really a phrase consisting of the main verb in the infinitive and the conjugated auxiliary *paṭu*, has became a compound word.

GERUNDS OF THE LANGUAGE

The gerunds of the language are to express what are called passive voice verbs in the ordinary way "Another 'person" referred to by Beschi speaks of *muṭikiṟatu*—ends, but see the book is finished, *vaḷarkiṟatu*—grows; but see the child is reared; *viḷaṅkukiṟatu*—shines; but see this name is made famous, as passives Instead of saying in the passive voice, "the rice is cooked", the Tamils prefer to say 'cōṟu ventatu' where *ventatu* is not passive. The "Another person" is certainly wrong in calling the form *muṭikiṟatu* as passive; he must have stated that the ordinary neuter verb can be used to express the passive. Beschi states, "The verb active is used in the passive sense especially when the participle forms, like *coṉṉatu*, etc, are used; *coṉṉatu* means 'what had been said.'

FORMATION

A locution has grown up in the language to express the passive when that has to be specificially expressed [1] The infinitive of the main form comes first and the auxiliary verb *paṭu* occurs closely after the main verb conjugated as a finite verb according to the tense, person, etc., as required." (2) instead of *paṭu*, *peṟu* may be used in a similar way. (3) On rare occasions—he might have stated in the literary dialect the auxiliary "un is used but then the main verb occurs as a verbal noun either with suffix or not. *paṭaippu-uṇṭēṉ*; also *aṟai uṇṭēṉ*.

DEFECTIVE VERBS—'OKKUM'

• In section IX, he draws our attention to certain verbs which he calls defective verbs in that they do not have all the required forms of conjugation *okkum* which requires either a dative or an accusative or a social ablative, does not occur in the present tense or in the imperative mood. Kampar, it has to be poined out, has the form 'okkiṉṟāṉ' in the present tense. As pointed out by Beschi an author, whom he refers to as "Another", is not justified that this verb has only three forms, 'okkum', 'ovvātu' and 'ovvāta' and therefore Beschi gives the other available forms of this verb.

'VĒṆUM'

The second defective verb is 'vēṇum' more elegantly pronounced 'vēṇṭum'. It signified both "to pray" and "to be required" or "to be necessary". In the first sense, it is not a defective verb. In the second meaning, the form vēṇṭukiṟatu' is absent and to this extent it is a defective verb. As we have already pointed out the future is everywhere used for the present. What is required comes in the nominativ but for whom it is required comes in the dative, e.g. 'itu eṉakku vēṇum.' The negative 'vēṇṭa' gets *m* added in the barbarous vulgar idiom, e.g. 'vēṇṭām'. The commentators on 'Naṉṉūl' have pointed out that 'vēṇṭum' has become common to all genders and persons.

'MĀṬṬĒN'

The third defective verb is 'māṭṭēṉ' which occurs frequently as a negative verb while its positive form occurs only in the future tense of the finite verb and in that sense it is a defective verb. He distinguishes between 'māṭṭēṉ' and 'vēṇṭām' Originally the former denoted the absence of capacity while the latter denoted the absence of desire or propriety implying sometimes a negaive command. But this distinction is not now found. He explains the difference which he found in his times thus: "When the act of not willing and the action not willed respect (i.e. refer to) the same subject, we use the term 'māṭṭēṉ'. But when we, they respect (i.e. reference to, a different subject we have to use the word 'vēṇṭām'.

'IL' AND 'TAL'

The fourth set of defective verb consists of *illai* and *alla* where the first denies the existence and the second the essence. The contrary word for the first is 'uṇṭu' while for the second is *ām* They have the gerund to which *iru* or 'pō' may be added as auxiliaries as already stated. They are also the negative particles as already noted. They can be occurring as the final particle after a positive appellative noun or verbal of the neuter. They are therefore common to all gender, number and person and in that sense defective verbs. Beschi mentions the form 'illātal or allātāl for the subjunctive "if", which are unfortunately unknown to the language. Perhaps he has in his mind 'illaiyāṉāl'.

'UṆṬU'

The fifth defective verb shown is 'uṇṭu'. It is importing existence and not essence. It has no other word in its paradigm

of conjugation either positive or negative except a participle 'uḷḷa'. To 'uṇṭu'. if 'ākiṟatu' is added, it means 'to become'; if 'ākkiṟatu' is ādded, means 'to create'.

'PŌTUM'

'Pōtum', the next defective verb discussed, with the meaning "it enough", has only the negative third person 'pōtā' or 'pōtātu' and also the negative gerund and negative participle. The *t* therein alternates with 'r' in the colloquial speech.

The next defectiv everb is 'kaṭavatu' meaning "the duty of doing anything". Beschi points out that the author, whom he calls 'Another', has termed it a certain particle. This has only finite verbs of the future tense and the infinitive of which the latter however Beschi does not mention. This verbal 'kaṭavatu' expresses desire and a mode of supplying the optative. As he points out, it cannot be a command though implying an acceptance of a command or duty.

'TAKU'

In *takka,* which the 'Another' calls adjective, the root is *taku* and we have preterite and future finite verbs, the preterite participle *taka,* the future participle *takku* and also the infinitive *taka.* It has all the negative forms. But it is very doubtful whether the gerund *takku* occurs 'Tirukuṟaḷ' has 'takkaṉāḷ' where, as the auxiliary after the root *pula,* it means "to start"or "to begin". There is also another root *takku,* an alternate form of 'taṅku'. In the colloquial usage, only the appellative and the infinitive, and the participle *takka* which does not imply any past tense in the ordinary use, are found along with *takkum.* This last word as denoting propriety comes along with an infinitive preceding it. As the commetators on 'Naṉṉūl point out it is common to all gender, number and person. It is true that people explain this *takum* as the predicate of the preceding infinitive which has the force of a verbal noun.

KŪṬUM

'Kūṭum', the ninth defective verb taken up in the sense of "being joined together" or "come together" is not a defective verb at all. Some times it means "something may be done" by occurring in the nominative not as the casual power but as the possibility of effect. It can be translated by the English auxiliary verb 'can'. In this sense it is on a par with *takum, vēṇṭum* etc.

In this sense it always comes as an auxiliary after the infinitive of the main verb, though this fact is not mentioned by Beschi. "In this sense", Beschi, states, "all the cases do not occur but only the third of the neuter". But perhaps the preterite appellative of all the third person varieties can occur both in the positive and the negative. The participle can occur but not the infinitive and the gerund though Beschi mentions them.

'ĀKUM'

Beschi points out 'ākum' is similarly used in this sense in the place of 'kūṭum' etc. But then the auxiliary 'ākum' should be preceded not by the infinite but by the verbal noun *ceyyal*.

'PŌLA'

Lastly is mentioned 'pōla'. As Beschi points out it is not defective in the more elegant dialect. "Still since they are never used in the vulgar dialect except 'pōla' (infinite,) 'pōllum' [third person neutral future and also a future participle]. 'Pōl' and 'pōla' are contractions of 'pōlum' according to Beschi. But 'pōl' is participle which can be used in the place of 'pōla' and 'pōlum'.

IV. SYNTAX—SENTENCE CONSTRUCTION

BESCHI

Perhaps Beschi is the first author to discuss in a systematic manner the syntax of the Tamil language as a separate study. The fourth chapter of his book is on syntax. He begins this portion of his work with the significant remark: "Just as a work is more adorned by art than by matter, so every idiom acquires value not so much from the selection of the work as from the propriety of their construction." He speaks of the Europeans speaking their own native language in Tamil words, i.e. the construction of the sentences is that of their own language whilst the words alone are in Tamil.

LATIN AND TAMIL

In the section he speaks of the construction of the sentence. Though he is also of the opinion that the Tamil style will be more elegant, more it approaches the classical Latin style, yet he is conscious of the differences between these two languages. He points out that Tamil language is fond of laconism. Fewer the words the more elegant the style is in Tamil.

The verb "be" as a copula is generally omitted in Tamil. He proceeds to give some eight rules for the construction of a sentence especially with reference to the use of the various cases in Tamil.

Rule 1:—The nominative is used in the place of the accusative. But Beschi fails to point out that this usage is restricted to the natural nouns. Similarly the nominative is used instead of the genitive according to Beschi. But he hastens to add what is here is not the nominative but the substantive used as an adjective. It may be added that in Tamil the attribute always precedes the head and therefore when two nouns are juxtaposed the first always becomes an attribute by that very position.

Rule 2:—The genitive is always joined to another noun which it immediately precedes and on which it depends.

Rule 3:—(a) The dative is more elegantly used in Tamil as in Latin in the place of genitive to express advantage and disadvantage. Beschi might have added that it is idiomatic in Tamil to use the dative with reference to superior class of nouns or 'uyartiṉai. e.g. 'uṉakku-p-pēr eṉṉa. (b) Tamil uses the dative in the comparative e.g. *atukk itu peritu.* (c) Either one or both ends of the distance come in the dative.

e.g. 'itukkum tañcāvūrukkum vaḻi'

'itukku-t-tañcāvūr pāttu nāḻikai tūram' ; 'itukku mēl' etc.

The Tamil grammarians speak of limit or boundry being expressed by dative.

(d) Locative of time is idiomatically expressed in the dative.

e.g. 'iṉṟaikku vā'.

(e) The end aimed at is expressed by dative. e.g. 'etaṟku vantāy'.

(f) Degrees of consanguinity, affinity or dependence are idiomatically expressed by dative e.g. 'eṉakku makaṉ'.

Rule 4:—This relates to the use of the accusative. As often as the verb expresses any action the noun which is directly affected by the verb is always used in the accusative. And if it affects two nouns both will be used in the accusative. This statement brings out the meaning of the Tamil term 'ceya-p-paṭu poruḷ'.

e.g. 'ēṉai-c-cāttiraṅkaḷai-k-kaṟpittāṉ'. It is not clear why Beschi condemns the use of 'eṉakku' as 'eṉṉai', as barbarism.

The part and the whole may be put in the executive. e.g. 'pūnaiyai vālai aruttān.' But in such cases the name of the part may come in the accusative whilst the principal comes in the genitive or the principal may come in the accusative whilst the part takes the ablative, *il.*

Rule 5:—This relates to the vocative which is used not merely when any one is called, but also when a deity is invoked or when grief is expressed in which the last word in the vocative case is repeated.

Rule 6:—It has already been noticed that Beschi has spoken of three kinds of ablatives in Tamil. The first is *il* expressing (1) place of existence *malaiyil puli* (2) the motion from a place which is often followed by the gerund 'iruntu' or 'ninru' ('malaiyil iruntu viḻum aruvi') (3) comparison either comparative 'atilē itu nallatu' or superlative, the latter occurring whenever there is a noun implying universality, provided *um* follows *it,* a provision not noted by Beschi : 'ellāvarrilum itu nallatu', (4) the ablative of tense. akkālattil'. Instead of *il,* 'iṭattil' often occurs to signify the place, of existence or motion from a place. This is used in the place of proposition amongst or with e.g. 'ennitattil illai'.. It is also used as an ablative of place. e.g. 'kaṭalinitattil muttu'. It is used more elegantly to express an effect or cause. eg.. 'pū ṭattil vācanai', It may be remembered that the Tamil grammar will call this 'tarkilamai' or inalterable genitive or locative.

Rule 7:—The second ablative ends in 'āl' This is probably, as Beschi points out, equal to the European ablative with the preposition 'by' or 'from' used to exrpess cause [effective material or instrumental] or condition. With the passive verb, the agent is put in the ablative.

Rule 8:—The third ablative is the ablative of society ending in'oṭu', "together with". According to Beschi this expresses also the cause when it is used almost indifferently with the ablative in 'āl'. e.g. 'punniyatrāl' or 'punniyattoṭu, nanmai ellām varum'. He also gives 'āstiyoṭu iruntān' where it express the possession.

SYNTAX—NOUNS, CONVENTIONAL IDIOMS

Section II:—(a) In the next section be deals with certain conventions or idiomatic usages with reference to words denoting infancy, sex or parts of the plants.

INFANCY

Class denotings	Proper words of infancy
men	'kuḻantai' and *piḷḷai*
palm	*piḷḷai*
birds, mice, fish	*kuñcu*
quadruples, serpents, large fish like shark	*kuṭṭi*
camel, deer	*kaṉṟu*
cow, buffalow	*kaṉṟu*, *kaṉṟukkuṭṭi*
horse, & ass	*maṟi*

GENDER

Class denoting	Proper words for denoting male sex	female sex
birds	*cāval* [the literary from is *cēval*]	*peṭṭai*
calf	*kāḷaikkaṉṟu*	*kiṭārikkaṉṟu*
buffalow	*kiṭāy*, *kiṭāykkaṉṟu*;	*erumai* *erumaikkaṉṟu*
ox, cow	*eruṭu*	*pacu*
horse, & ass	*kuṇṭu* [*kutirai* or kaḻutai]	'kōḷikai'
dog, cat, wolf, monkey etc.	*kaṭuvaṉ*	
deer	*kalai*	
sheep, goats	*kiṭāy*	
generally human beings	*āṇ* [mentions the class] *āṇ piḷḷai*	*peṇ* [mentions the class] *peṇpiḷḷai*

ORGANIC PARTS

Class	Proper words
the leavea or palm	'ōlai'
coconut	'ōlai', *ilai* [in addition]
arecanut	*ēṭu*
cadjan leaves	*ēṭu*
the petals of flowers	*ēṭu*, 'itaḻ'
fruits [when very small]	*piñcu*
,, [if immature]	*kāy*
,, [if ripe]	'paḻam' or *kaṉi*
pulse or beam [very tender]	*puṉal*
,, [large but uot ripe]	*kāy*
,, [ripe]	*neṟṟu*
clusters of fruits	*kulai*, or *kolai*, *tāṟu*
coconuts arecanuts	*pāḷai*

(c) These usages may be compared with those prescribed in *Tolkāppiyam* and with modern usages in various modern dialects. This really belongs to the lexicon but should be taught to the beginner.

SYNTAX—APPELLATIVES

(a) The next part of this section deals with appellatives, (a) They are formed by adding to any noun, be it *kāraṉ* or the word *kāri* in the feminine. The noun, be it *kāraṉ* or *kāri* follows the rules prescribed for substantives becoming adjectives. Beschi states that it would be rediculous to say *ivaṉ enta ūrk-kāraṉ* or *tañcāvūrkkāraṉ*. But to-day such usages are quite common showing the deep roots these *kāraṉ* and *kāri* have taken in the language.

(b) The appellatives are also formed by adding to the substantive *uḷḷavaṉ* etc. e.g. *malaiyil uḷḷavaṉ*. But he himself points out that these are phrases rather than proper appellatives.

(c) Appellatives are formed from every noun by the proper suffixes of gender and number e.g. 'kaḻuttan' 'ūraṉ' etc.

(d) Appellative nouns are formed from verbs by adding *avaṉ, avaḷ* etc. to the present, past or negative participles when either the *a*-ending of the participle or the *a* beginning of the pronoun is struck out. e.g. *ceykiṟavaṉ, ceytavaṉ ceyyātavaṉ*. (e) For forming the future appellatives *vēṉ, pēṉ* is struck out from first person sfngular future and *pavaṉ* or *pavaḷ* etc. are added He states that the finite verb itself can be used more elegantly as an appellative noun and also be declined as any other noun.

SYNTAX—A VERBALS

(a) He proceeds to consider the formation of verbals from every verb, verbals which are declined as nouns. The present and the preternite third person singular finite verbs 'ceykiṟatu' etc.) are used as verbals in the place of verbal nouns like *paṭit-tal*. For the future verbal the *ēṉ* of the first person singular future is omitted and *atu* is added, e.g. *ceyvatu*. This is used for the present also and the continuation of action as well. *Āvatu* signifies "esseuce" and therefore he says it can be omitted *ceytiyāvatu/ceyti.*

(b) The second kind of verbals are formed by omitting 'kiṛatu' and adding *kai*. He mentions the form *ākaiyil*, 'since this happens', which however does not occur in that sense. Perhaps Beschi is making a mistake.

(c) The third verbal is formed by adding *l* to the infinitive. But it is doubtful whether the form *irukkal* was ever heard except, as he himself says, with the word *āl* or *ākātu* ; *āṉ* or *ākāta*. There is another verbal like this. It gives which is formed both in the vulgar and the high dialect by adding *ttal* in the place of 'kkiṛatu and adding *tal* in the place of 'kiṛatu', 'paṭikkṛatu' > *paṭittal* 'akiṛatu > *ātal*.

(d) Then he gives a variety of verbals ending in *pu* which is formed by adding *ppu* instead of 'kkiṛatu' e.g. 'kaṭikkiṛatu' > *kaṭippu*.

ADVERBS

Except the verbal ending in *pu* all others retain their characteristic features of verb by requiring the proper case sign to precede them, natural to their respective roots though they themselves in turn can be declined. These verbals as nouns can also be preceded by bound or free attributives, e.g. *eṉ ceykai*, *nalla ceykai.*

V. SYNTAX—VERBS

SUPPLYING THE DEFFICIENCIES

GENERAL

Section III deals with verbs as a part of a sentence. He had already pointed out that the Tamil language has not certain tenses as well as certain moods. The other heading for this section is "the method of supplying those this language has not". This section is valuable for working out as it were the transfer grammar of Tamil for the European languages especially Latin. It also reveals to us the genius of the Tamil Language expressing certain nuances of meaning by its peculiar construction, of certain phrases rather than by definite morphemes

IMPERFECT

The imperfect is expressed by using the word of the future whenever speaking of the thing past, *Puṉṉiyaṅkaḷaic-*

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ceyvāṉ, 'He practised all virtues'. Secondly "if to the gerund of the verb, the word of the preterite from the verb 'be' or *irukiṟatu* is added; this phrase, if from the context it appears to agree in time with that which precedes or follows it in the sentence, then the phrase supplies the phrase of Latin imperfect *nī varumpōtu nāṉ itaic-c-ceytu iruntēṉ*. *Varumpōtu* is imperfect according to the first rule.

PLUPERFECT

The pluperfect also does not occur in Tamil having no separate morpheme. 'If the same phrase above mentioned like *ceytirunten* appears from the context not to correspond in time but to have preceded, then it is substituted for the Latin pluperfect" e.g. *nī varum muṉṉē nāṉ itai-c-cēytiruntēṉ* or *nāṉ itaic ceytirunta piṟaku nī vantāy*. Even if *muṉ* or *piṟaku* is not there, if the context makes it clear, the Tamil phrase should be rendered by the Latin pluperfect, e.g. *anēkam tiraviyaṅkalai ataintiruntāṉākilum tarittiraṉāy-cettāṉ*. It is clear that it is context rather than anything else which here brings out the significance of the pluperfect. A European author has given *nī visuvāsikkiṟāyē appōtu avaṉ visuvāsitāṉ* for the imperfect and *nī visuvāsikiṟāyē atukkumuṉpē nāṉ visuvāsippēṉ*. Beschi rightly denies they are Tamil phrases.

OPTATIVE

The optative mood is also not genuine to Tamil. (1) "The infinitive *āka* or defective *kaṭavatu* or both *ākakkaṭavatu* or *kaṭavātāka* translates the optative mood". For denoting the future tense herein the future finite or the future verbal like *ceyvatu* etc., is used before the *āka* etc., mentioned above. (2) for denoting the past tense, the gerund of any verb with infinitive *irukka* is used, being followed by the above mentioned *āka* etc. (3) The gerund of any verb with the verbal preterite *iruntatu* is also used followed by *āka-k-katavatu* eg. 'nī atai-k-kēṭkumpōtu nāṉum kūṭa-k-kēṭṭuruntatāka-k-kaṭavatu'.

SUBJUNCTIVE FORMATION

The subjunctive 'if' is not found in Tamil as a mood. But the idea is expressed in the following way. From the first person past singular finite verb *ēṉ* is removed and *āl* is added. A second way is found by removing *ṟatu* from *kkiṟatu* and by adding *i* e.g. *irukkiṟatu*> *irukkil*. But in verbs ending in *kiṟatu*

this is taken away and *il* is added whilst *u* if it occurs in it, preceding *kiṟatu* is also removed. e.g. *Collukiṟatu*> *collil.* But if after removing *kiṟatu* there is only one long syllable remaining, *kil* is added, e.g. *ākil.* To the negative gerund the subjunctive *iruntāl* or *pōṉāl* is added. Beschl mentions that the addition of *āl* to the negative gerund ending in *atu* but *ceyyātāl* is not found in usage. Again from the negative gerund, for e.g. *ceyyātu, tu* is omitted and the subjunctive *viṭṭāl* is added. Since these forms are non-finite verbs they can be used for every person and number. All these end with the finite future verb.

TENSES

Here are the methods for distinguishing tenses in the subjunctive mood. (1) If something denoting the present such as 'to-day' modifies the subjunctive verb, then one has the present tense, e.g. *iṉṟaiku nāṉ vantāl taruvāyē.* (2) If the context shows that the condition cannot be fulfilled in the present tense then oue hae imperfect subjunctive *avaṉ vantāl pēcuvēṉ* (3) If there is any particle indicating future as 'to-morrow' *nāḷai* modifying the subjunctive, one gets the future subjunctive. In all these cases the subjunctive used is *vantāl.* (4) But if the subjuctive is *iruntāl* occurring after the gerund of any verb and if there is a particle of present time, then one gets the preterite subjuctive *ippōtu avarkaḷ vantiruntāl nāṉ laruvēṉ.* (5) If in this case there is a particle of past time modifying the subjunctive then one has the pluperfect subjunctive

ĀṈĀL

He also refers to the usage of *āṉāl* or *ākil* but not as joined with another verb *itaṉāl* 'if it be'. The ordinary construction with 'if' is expressed by putting this *āṉāl* or *ākil* after the word of another verb 'vāḷkiṟāyākil nallatu'. It is curiou that Beschi does not mention the conditional of the pattern *ceyyiṉ.*

THOUGH.

The idea of 'although' is expressed in Tamil by adding *um* to the subjunctive forms ending in *āl* or *il.*

SINCE.

The subjnctive 'since is expressed in Tamil by the word *pōtu* or 'poḻutu' or by the ablative *aḷavil* or *iṭattil* being placed

after all participles. Here it implies cause, 'nī eṉ vārttaiyai mīṟiṉa pōtu aṭi paṭuvāy.. These remind us of the so-called' *viṉai-y-eccam* ending in *kāl* etc., *vantakkāl* etc. Secondly the subjunctive 'since' which implies cause is expressed by the infinitive of any verb to which is added the infinitive *koḷḷa* e.g. *nī colli-k-koḷḷa.* This is a construction very much in current use unknown to classical Tamil.

ABLATIVE ABSOLUTE

(f) Beschi next turns to what is called in Latin the ablative absolute; *nī colli-k-koḷḷa ivaṉum vantāṉ* serves also for the ablative absolutive. Secondly the more elegant form is to omit *koḷḷa* using only the infinitive of the required verb. *Cēvakar tūṅkiyirukka cīṣar vantār.* Beschi prefers to this idiom. The ablative *il* of the verbal, ending in *kai* also exprcsses the ablative absolute, *nāṉ irukkaiyil ippaṭi p-pēcātē.* The fourth method is found when *ceytē* is added to the infinitive. 'Nī-pōka-cceytē avaṉ vantāṉ'. This *cey* is used as common or general verb and it may be used after any particular verb *collavum ceytēṉ*, when such distinctions bave to be made. But it means only *coṉṉēṉ* etc. Therefore *colla-c-ceytēṉ* is equal to *colla*, but not 'colliyē' as Beschi points out. Of courst, *colli* cannot occur in this construction. This *ceytē* becomes *cē* but as usual he remarks that this is altogether barbarous having been introduced by the rude vulgar. He is however not correct in saying that *varaccē* etc., are not in general use among the common people.

GERUND IN 'DO' AND 'DUM'

(g) Beschi equates the Latin gerund in *do* with the preterite conjuctive participle. He has stated that other kinds of gerunds are absent in Tamil. The infinitive is used to denote a purpose. *Kartar nammai-k-kākka vantār*, and it corresponds to the Latin gerund in *dum ad salvandum. Uṉṉai-k-kāṇa eṉakku ācai uṇṭu* corresponds to the Latin gerund *vidende.*

SUPINE

(h) The supine is also absent in Tamil. The supine in *u* is expressed by the dative of the verbal of the participle, present or future or by using the dative of the verbal ending *tal Itu collukiṟatukku aritu—itu colvataṟku aritu.* One may use the nominative form of the varbal; but if it is to correspond to the supine, the accusative *itai* should be used—'Itai-c-collukiṟatu

aritu.' The supine in *um* is expressed in Tamil by the infini- *vantēṉ*. The paulo post future is expressed in Tamil by adding one word 'pō' to the infinitive of any verb, 'Colla pōṟēṉen' etc.

FUTURE PARTICIPLE IN 'RUS' AND 'DUS'

(i) The future participle in Tamil does not correspond to the Latin future participle in 'rus' because it does not express an end. (1) The infinitive used for the supine for um is equivalent to the Latin participle future in 'rus'—*koṭukka varuvēṉ*. (2) The Latin participle future passive in 'dus' is expressed in Tamil by the infinitive followed by the finite verb of the root, *taku* suitable or obligatory—*itu ceyyattakum.*

THE RELATIVE

(j) It has already been pointed out that the relative 'who or 'which' is absent in Tamil. The participles and appelative nouns make good this dificiency. Beschi also points out that *evar, evaṉ, etu* or *ār* which usually serve for the interrogation, coming either before or after appelative nouns are also words of relative, Probably he has in mind usages like 'uyarvaṟa uṭaiyavaṉ evaṉavaṉ.'

ADVERB

The Tamil language is also devoid of adverb properly so called; 'Ippōtu' etc., which look like adverb of place are noun absolutes. He states that they are declined through the cases. But except the dative form which is really the locative of time we do not have any other declined form in any other case. Beschi points out that the want of adverbs is supplied by adding to any noun either 'āy' or 'āka'. 'Āka' is much more elegant and is used to express the mode in which anything is done, e.g. 'kōpamāka-c-coṉṉāṉ'—"he spoke in the manner of anger" i.e. "angrily".

V SYNTAX—VERBS, COMPOSITIONS OF VERBS

GENERAL

Section IV deals with what Beschi calls the composition of verbs. He points out that the Tamilians have not verbs compounded in the manner of the Latin, from any preposition or particle. The ancient Tamil grammarians have not provided for the composition of verbs where the main verb is in what

Beschi calls gerund and is compounded with an auxilliary verb which is found as the finite verb. The latter day grammarians, however, refer to these and the differences in meaning which they effect. In the Eighteen century the gerund and the auxiliarry verb were considered to form one single unit.

'IRU'

Iru is the first auxiliary taken up for consideration. The difference in meaning was not realised; for Beschi states that some think that the verb compounded thus differs in nothing from the simple verb. If Rayan strikes now, one cannot say 'aṭittirukkiṟāṉ', but only 'aṭikkiṟāṉ'. 'Rāyaṉ uṉṉai aṭittiruppaṉ' supposes past a time in the action of striking as distinguished from the time in which it is said; it implies the present time of co-existence of the person striking to the speaker; 'Rāyaṉ uṉṉai aṭittiruntāṉ' impiies past time in the striking as distinguished from the time not only in which I am speaking but also of which I am speaking. If Rāyaṉ struck you yesterday the simple past 'aṭittāṉ' alone could be used. One has three preterites 'aṭitēṉ' 'aṭittirukkiṟēṉ' and 'aṭittiruntēṉ'. 'Rāyaṉ uṉṉai aṭittiruppāṉ' implies past time in the striking as distinguished from the time not only in which I am speaking but also of which I am speaking.

So also one may have three features, 'aṭippēṉ', 'aṭikkappōṉēṉ', and 'aṭittiruppēṉ'. The first is simple future, the second is the paulo past feature already mentioned and the third implies time future as distinguished from the time in which I speak as reference to the future.

'AYIRU'

Next he passes on to consider the compound 'āyirukkiṟatu'. It has the force of the verb 'have' 'cantōsamāyirukkiṟēṉ.' 'I have joy and I am joyful' only when it can be rendered in Latin by *sum, es, est ek* A, (*I am* with an adjective. If the verb 'to be' is constructed with two nominative 'āy' is added to the nominative which is the predicate in the proposition 'carvēsvaraṉ nallavaṉāyirukiṟāṉ'. If the verb 'to be' expresses existence, 'āy' is not added ; if it implies essence it is added.

'KOḶ' AND 'POṬU'

The auxiliary, 'koḷḷukiṟatu' is added to a verb which implies action and which has reference to one, other than an agent.

'eḻutikkoṇṭēṉ', 'pōtukiratu' is added as an auxiliary, if the verb implies action with reference to the agent himself 'eḻutippōṭṭēṉ. To day, in modern usage 'eḻutippōṭṭēṉ' is a pluperfect, especially in the *Kongu* dialect.

'VĀ'

If to the auxiliary gerund 'koṇṭu' the verb 'varukiṟatu' (a) is added, it signifies the continuance of the action expressed by the main verb preceding the 'koṇṭu'. In modern times, *iru* is used oftener than *vā*.

'PAṬU'

'Paṭu'has already been explained with reference to the formation of the passive voice. But there are other idioms in which 'paṭu' enters. It is added on to nouns to form a compound verb like 'payappaṭu', 'aḻukkuppaṭu' with a signification, either passive of neuter", converting the noun into a verb thereby. If instead of 'paṭu' the transitive 'paṭuttu' is added, the compound verb becomes an active verb, e.g. 'veḷippaṭuttu'.

'OṬṬU'

The auxiliary 'oṭṭu', 'permit or allow' comes after the infinitive of the main verb, where a syncope occurs and where the final *a* of the infinitive is lost in the negative [though not noted by Beschi] e.g. 'piḷaikkoṭṭāṉ'. In forms like 'piḷaikkaṭṭum', 'ceyyaṭṭum'etc., which occur now as an optative, instead of the *a* of the infinitive, the *o* of 'oṭṭu' is lost. Beschi gives the form 'piḷaikaṭṭu' without the final *m* which is however not the form in use, unless he means 'piḷaikaṭṭu'.

'ARUḶ' ETC.

'Aruḷ' is an auxiliary which comes in after the main verb occurring as a gerund, whenever the action refer to that of a dignified persons. e.g. 'aracar eḻuntaruḷiṉār'.

'PO'

The auxiliary verbs 'pō', 'iṭu', 'viṭu' according to Beschi, have no meaning; but in the modern usage they denote the perfect tense.

CAUSALS

Beschi treat of what Dr. Caldwell calls causals under the compound roots. The English translation speaks of the verbs

of command, which according to Beschi imply an action which is done as a result of a command or at least as a result of persuation of that person who is denoted by word in the nominative case. There is one who actually performs the action and there is another who orders it, as the orthodox grammarians explain it. From the future first person ending in 'pēṉ', 'pēṉ' is omitted and *pikkiṟatu* is added. e.g. 'aṭipikkiren'; if ending in *vēṉ* that *vēṉ* is omitted and *vikiṟatu* is added e.g. *ceyvēṉ—eeyvikkṟēṉ.* Those which in the future have a before *vēṉ* change this *u* into *ai* e.g. *colluvēṉ colluvikkiṟēṉ.* These are conjungated in all persons and numbers.

TRANSFER GRAMMAR

Beschi has been assuming some conjugated form as the basic form and deriving all other forms therefrom according to certain rules for such transformations given by him. We have already referred to what is called 'transfer grammar' developed in modern times for teaching a foreign language on the basis of the native language of the learner. How the structure in one language is changed into the structure of another language in expressing the same idea is explained by this transfer grammar. Beschi's explanation which compares the Latin idioms with Tamil idioms can be looked upon as a real anticipation of this modern development of transfer grammar.

TRANSFORMATION

But the explanation of various forms derived from what is taken as the basic form or structure reminds us of another development in modern linguistics, namely the transformation grammar explained by Harris and Chomskey. Their transformation grammar relates to the sentence structure where the core structures are found and where other forms can be derived from such cords of rules of transformation. But Beschi's transformation relates both to transformation within the world and within the phrase. It is not here conceded that Beschi always found the kernal structure in relation to which all other transformations could be explained. It is for consideration whether the transformation which is applied to syntax can not also be applied to morphology as morphotactics.

V. SYNTAX—VERBS, USE OF THE INFINITE

GENERAL

Section V speaks of the important usages of the infinitive [1] A Tamil sentence which has the infinitive after the verb

may, be rendered into Portuguese or French without the word 'que' but may be rendered also by the single infinitive or by the particle 'dera'. Then in Tamil we always use the infinitive *nāṉ ceyya vēṇum.* But if it were to be rendered in French or Portuguese by 'que' the Tamil infinitive is not used. And 'que' is but in Tamil as *eṉṟu nī vantāy eṉṟu coṉṉāṉ* Instead of this verbal form the participle is more elegantly used as *nī vanta tai-c-coṉṉāṉ.* (2) When pue in Portuguese and French is rendered Latin, not by an infinitive but by a subjunctive ut [that], then in Tamil one elegantly uses the infinitive *cicut veniat varac-collu* (3) The infinitive is elegantly used as in Latin by the figure of elipsis when the verb 'incipio' is omitted, and the sentences are filled by a crowded series of infinitives. 'mēkaṅkaḷ eḻuntu paṭara vāṉam eṅkum iruḷa' etc. (4) Infinitive is used in the manner of an adverb *tirumpa*; *mīḷavum* (5) The repetition of the infinitive occurs for the Latin gerund in *do,* when this unplies continuance and case 'pēca-p-pēca enta-p-pāsaiyum va-rum' (6) The interrogative particle o is added to the infinitive when the infinitive is used for the first person, for the future *aṭikkavō,* for *aṭippēṉō* sometimes it means also 'What! can I strike?'

(7) Infinitive used for the imperative, (8) for the operative with *kaṭavatu,* (9) for the adjective absolute (10) for the gerund in *di* and *dum,* (11) for the supine in *um,* (12) for the participle future in *rus,* have all been explained elsewhere.

'ĀKA'

'Āka' though an infinitive has some other idiomatic usages.

(1) as expressing what is explained in Latin by *sponte, ex-se ip so* ie. voluntarily *taṉāka* is more elegant than the *taṉṉālē* the ablative.

(2) It is used in the sense of Latin 'simul' 'together' or totally 'āka-t-talai irupattāṟū.'

(3) It signifies 'in the manner or in the quality' 'Tūtaṉ āka vantāṉ.'

(4) When united to the noun *iṭam* 'place, it is the same as 'for' or 'in place of another'; then it requires a dative, sometimes a genitive or even nominative 'aṅkē pōrattuku iṭam āka iṅkē vantāṉ', 'eṉṉitāmāka nī pō'. '*āka* without *iṭam* is also used in this sense 'vilai-y-āka viruntu tantāṉ.' These are not now

found in current usage which uses the locution. ‘ eṉakku-p-patilā-kā,’ ‘ eṉakkāka ’ or ‘ eṉṉitattil.

(5) *āka* is used to signify ‘that it may profit’ or ‘on account of. It requires then a dative e.g. ‘ pāvikaḷukkāka aḻu.’

‘ KOḶḶA ’

The infinitive *kolla* has other idiomatic uses in addition to those common to all infinitives. As an auxiliary infinitive, added to the infinitive of the main verb, it is elegantly taken for cause or seeing that ’, ‘ pāvi-y-ay naṭakka-k-koḷḷa avalamāy-k-keṭu-vāṉ.’ Instead of the infinitive of the main verb its verbals of participles are used in the infinitive *āka* to which is added this infinitive *koḷḷa*, *naṭantatākakkoḷḷa*. It is much more elegant than saying ‘ natantatiṉālē.’

MEANING OF ‘ VĀṄKU ’ AND ‘ KOṬU ’

Vāṅku ‘ to receive’ and koṭu. ‘to give’ have much reference to each other. One cannot use the first without taking some thing from another who can give it with his hands. Nor can one use this record without giving to one used is able to receive it with one’s hand. Therefore ‘ peṭṭiyil irukkum paṇaṅka-ḷai eṭu ’ is used and not ‘ peṭṭiyil irukkum paṇaṅkalai vāṅku.’ So also ‘ kutiraikuppullup-pōṭu ’ and not *pullukkotu* ‘ Rayar kaiyilē atai vāṅka ’ and ‘ ceṭṭikku-p-paṇam koṭu.’

MEANING OF ‘ TARU ’ AND ‘ KOṬU ’

Beschi repeats the restrictions placed on *tā*, *koṭu*, *vā*, *cel* and *ī* by the ancient grammarians. But this is of no use in explaining the colloquial dialect of his age or our age; for he himself states. “I know that this distinction is not commonly well observed but I have thought what is a precept of the learned should not be passed over.”

VI. SYNTAX—PARTICLES, ‘ ITAICCOL ’

The last and the 6th section of this chapter offers certain important remarks on the uses of the particles of the Tamil language. “The particles are *itaiccols* as if they said”, as Beschi explains it, “a word intermediate in sentence.” According to Ceṉāvaraiyar and Teyvacciliyār the root morphomes are *uriccol* and non-root morphemes are *iṭaiccol* But there are certain particles which are not included in the list of suffixes, and

these occur as enclitics or proclitics. Some of these were originally independent words which have been reduced to the position of mere particles which therefore cannot now occur as independent words. And it is these, Beschi discusses in this section.

'UM'

Um is the most important particle. He differentiates its six usages—(1) It is equal to the conjunction 'and', which however is added with every one of the nouns. If it is used with none of the nouns enumerated, it is the special construction; when things are enumerated individually *um* is added finally to the told number. This construction is called *cevveṉ* Beschi however does not mention this. He finds *um* attached to the last of the nouns enumerated when the verb is negative. The *um* in such a case comes in the sense of "ever" whereas the nouns enumerated form a compound or a *cevveṉ* (2) When the thing numbered is distinguished from the number, *um* is added according to Beschi. This *um* is really what is explained as Tamil usage in 'muṟṟummai." The *um* then implies that there are no more of the thing in the particular context. When the number is thus fixed *um* next is to be added. 'kaṇṇiraṇṭum nōkutu' where there is no third eye. And also we do not say 'orukaṇṇum nōkutu' But it should be stated that the number occurring as an attribute is differentiated from the same number occurring as a substantative when in the latter case alone *um* is added.

(4 *Um* means 'even' either in the superior or inferior classification. 'One' plus this *um* followed by a negative verb means 'nothing' e.g. 'oruvaṉum ceyyāṉ.' (5) *Um* with a negation following it, is equivalent to nor 'nāṉum ceyyēṉ.' This is not different from the first usage, because 'nor' is the translation of not *um* alone but *um* plus a negation. Perhaps Beschi's explanation here is important forhelping us to translate 'nor'. (6) *um* added to words of uncertainty conveys an universal sense". Really Beschi ought to have stated that interrogative words with *um* convey an universal sense. e.g. *eṅkum* "where", *eṅkum* "everywhere". The *um* may be added to such interrogative words, 'eṅkē pōṉālum', 'eppaṭi ceytālum.'

The next important particle is *ō* and he emphasises eight different uses.

(1) *ō* is a syntactic interrogative particle coming as an enclitic. It is added to any one of the words in a sentence to

emphasise the fact that the interrogation is with reference to that word. This interrogation according to Beschi expresses doubt. This is because interrogation may also denote a doubt. In modern times *ā* takes the place of 'ō'.

(2) After the word taking this 'ō', one may add 'eṉṟāl', e.g. avaṉō eṉṟāl', where the whole phrase means 'but he'.

(3) If 'ō' is added to *āl* of the subjunctive 'if', it expresses somehow or other, the necessity of that means to an end and it is the same as 'not otherwise than', e.g. 'ēcu nātarai-p-piṉceṉṟā lō karai ēṟuvār. The negative form of this statement also is herein implied—"In this sense and in this same way". They (Tamilians) use the words 'aṉṟō', 'allō' and 'allavō which words harmonise with 'is it not' writes Beschi.

(4) Interrogation implies a negation and therefore this may give the force of an emphatic denial, e.g. 'nāṉā coṉṉēṉ.

(5) 'ō' is used as conjunction and especially when it denotes increase and hyperbole, 'atilē kūṭiṉa maṉusarō vanta kutiraikaḷō itellām evarālum collattakuntaṉmaiyalla.'

(6) If after 'ō' we add a word which is equivalant to the verb 'not to know' or 'to doubt', 'ō' then is the same as 'whether' e g. 'varuvāṉō teriyātu'. But if any other verb follows, *eṉṟu* and not *eṉṟāl* must be added, 'vantāṉō eṉṟu kēḷ'

(7) If ō is added to the words of interrogation, then it expresses ignorance. e.g. 'ārō', 'eṅkēyō'.

(8) It occurs as a proclitic before a sentence. There it occurs doubled and expresses admiration, rejoice or the ideas of scoffing.

The next particle *ē* gives rise to four different uses.

(1) It is used like the 'ō' referred to in its first usage, and it expresses certain degree of certainty and force which can hardly be explained, 'nī eṉakkitaicconṉāyē', 'nīyē eṉakkitaic coṉṉāyē'.

(2) It is used to distinguish markedly one from many, e.g. itē aṟuttuttā.'

(3) *ē* is elegantly added to any word expressive of a person groaning or lamenting, e.g. 'aiyō keṭṭēṉē, piḷḷai iḻantenē.'

(4) It adds nothing to the word to which it is joined. See for instance the ablative to which it is added, 'mukatilē', 'mukatiṉālē' 'mukatiṉōṭē'.

'AIYŌ' ETC.

Beschi proceeds to explain the uses of four particles 'aiyō', 'aṉṟō' *ēṉ* and *ākkum*.; 'aiyō', 'aiyaiyō', 'antō' are interjections of grief or compassion; *āa* also is an interjection of compassion.

aṉṟō, *allō* or *allavō* express an interrogation and a negative. This is added to the word which is thus emphasised, 'ivaṉaṉṟō' or *allavaō* or allō *coṉṉāṉ* 'did not he himself say it'.

ēṉ is the same as 'why'. If it is placed before a verb and the verb is conjugated according to the exigency of the sentence, e.g, 'ēṉ vantāy'. But if it occurs after a word, then that word is the word of the third person masculine according to Beschi. if the future tense which then is used for every person, number and gender, *varuvāṉ* or *iruppāṉ* is looked upon by grammarian as a *viṉaiyeccam* having the force of a verb as is the case with the infiinitive. We have the pharses like atēṉeṉṟāl' which means "'because", and atēteṉṟāl which means "that is to say". This distinction is not found in the current usage. He himself adds that both phrases signify the same.

Ākkum coming as an enclitic at the end of a sentence means "perhaps" e.g, 'tiruṭa vantāṉākkum' If it is interposed in a sentence it means "purely indeed" etc., e.g. 'iruṭa ākkum vantāṉ.

'MUṈ' ETC.

Muṉ, *piṉ*, and *munti* are, he says, "not prepositions but nouns which are declined." Three cases are especially used but he must have added that no other cases are used. He is wrong in thinking *muṉṉai piṉṉai* have any case sign. 'muṉṉuku' and 'muṉṉāl' are really old locatives; *muṉ* harmonises with "before that" and *piṉ* with "after or after that". He refers to words derived from these, e.g. *muṉṉē*, *muṉṉaiyum*, *muṉpu*, *muṉṉar*, *piṉṉar*, *piṉṉar*, *piṉpu*, *piṟaku*, *piṟpāṭu*.

(1) If they are used after a noun or verbal from the participial of the preterite or the future the noun must be in the genetive or dative., e.g. *ataṉmuṉ*, or *ataṟkumuṉ*. The orthodox

grammarians consider *mun*, *pin* etc. as locative case signs though they may occur as nouns with the locative significance as in *atukkumun*; *mun* is also joined to the participial of the future *collumun* and more elegantly to negative participle without final *ta*, e.g. *ceyyumun*; *pin* is joined to participial of preterite e.g. *ceyta pin*. These are considered to be as one unit of *vinaieccam* by ancient grammarians. They are used absolutely without any case sign or at the beginning of the sentence where *munnai* is equal to "before" and *pinnai* is equal to "afterwards or besides what ", 'pinnai enna '?

(3) *Munti* is gerund, *munta* is the infinitive. The noun preceding them is in the dative and not genetive. If they are used absolutely or at the beginning of a sentence they mean "first" or "before". In all these cases they modify the verb following. When these gerunds or infinitives are repeated they mean "principally" or "especially".

'PAṬI'

Paṭi is a noun meaning "the mode or manner"

(1) *Paṭi* is united to any participle for any person. These really act as *vinaieccam*, e.g. *Paṭiyāl*. *paṭiyōṭu*. Beschi says it is delined through all the cases. But this is doubtful. Instead of saying *paṭiyilē* they say *paṭiyē*.

(2) *Paṭi* comes in the dative implying "the end", *nan ceyyum paṭikku*. The orthodox grammarians, one must add, will equate this to *vinaieccam ceyarku*.

(3) There is the form *ceytapaṭiyināl* meaning "because". There is also the *ānapaṭiyināl* used sometimes absolutely even at the beginning of the sentences.

(4) The forms *ippaṭi*, *appaṭi*, *eppaṭi* are used as adverbs of manner. There is also the phrase 'ippaṭikkotta' "of this way".

'UḶ'

Uḷ means an inner part and is a noun which is declined. But we have only *uḷḷe*, 'uḷḷukku', *uḷ* +*ē* is used absolutely in the nominative form itself, for the oblique case e acts as a locative sign. Coming after the genitive or dative it means "within", e.g. *vīṭṭinuḷḷē*, *peṭṭikkuḷḷē*. Here also some grammarians explain this *uḷ* as a locative case sign.

(2) Used absolutely at the beginning of a sentence it means "within", e.g. 'uḷḷē oṉṟum illai'.

(3) This is joined to the verb *paṭu* or *ā*. This is really a case of compound, a noun, denoting a location, is followed by a verb root. This is nothing unique about *uḷ* One gets a good number of such compounds. *veḷippaṭal, puṟappaṭal, talaip-paṭal* etc. and also *talaiātal, iṭaiātal* etc.

'PUṞAM'

Puṟam and *pāl* signify a part. They occur with the demonstrative or interrogative particle. The are declined. We have however only forms with *il* and other locative case signs. They are indeclinably used with a dative, e.g. *aṟṟukku appu-ṟam.* They are also used absolutely at the beginning of a sentence, meaning "never" and "farther".

(2) *Puṟam* signifies also expressly the exterior part as opposed to *uḷ* the interior part; *puṟattu* is used as an adjective. *puṟattilē* is used absolutely; *puṟattilē itaic collatē. puṟam* is also used indeclinably with a dative, e.g. *ippuṟam* All these cases of locative words are said to be used absolutely. They correspond to adverbs of place, time and manner modifying the verb.

'MĒL' ETC.

Mēl "upper part or above" and 'kīḻ' "lower part or below" are location words. They are nouns. *Mēlē, mēlāl* are really locatives though Beschi says these are never declined, e.g. 'aṟattiṉ mēl naṉmai illai,' 'pāvikaḷiṉ kiḻi ṉar illai', ataṟkku mēl vaṉmai illai'. They are construed with a dative or genitive.

(2) *Mēl* signifying 'upon' is joined to the genitive of dependence of even to a noun taken into the manner of an adjective. 'eṉ talaimēl' 'vīṭṭumēl' So also *kīḻ.* In these instances the Tamil grammarians consider these as locative case signs, as we have been repeating with reference to each one of these words of location. *Vīṭṭu* is not an adjective but the oblique stem taking the case signs as for example *vīṭṭai.*

(3) *Mēl* like *muṉ* etc. mentioned above is joined to a verbal participle. Its contrary word is *kuṟaiya* which is used in the manner of an adverb and requires a dative.

(4) The reduplication of the word *mēl*, *mēṉmēl* means "more and more". *Mēl* used with a genitive or dative is the same as "afterwards" or "after that", e.g. *ateṉ mēl* or *ataṟku-mēl itaiccey*.

'MĀTTIRAM' ETC.

Proceeding to discuss *māttiram*, *aḷavu* and *taṉai*, he refers to all these as measurements.

(1) There are things measured by number, (2) those measured by weight, (3) those measured by measures of cubic capacity and, (4) those measured by expansion or length like yards etc. With this in mind he distinguishes these words: *māttiram* is used for every kind of measurement; *emmāttiram* means "what numbers, what weight, what length or what quantity; But *aḷavu* serves for all other measures except number. Finally *taṉai* is proper only with reference to those which are numbers. It has to be stated that all the four kinds of measurements can be spoken of in terms of number when the use of *taṉai* is appropriate, with reference to the respective standard units.

(2) *Taṉai* is never used simply without being prefixed by the demonstrative of interrogative particles or suffixed to the participle future, when at the end *um* is added. It is curious that Beschi should say that *um* ending of the participle, e.g. 'irukkuntaṉaiyum' is changed to *am*, e.g. *irukkantaṉaiyum*. Perhaps it is a peculiarity of the pronunciation of the dialect he knew. Neither the literary dialect nor any of the modern colloquial dialects shows this change.

(3) *Aḷavu* may be used by itself or prefixed by the particles above mentioned and suffixed to the participle future with *um* as above. He, however adds that the *aḷuvum* may be suffixed to verbals of the three particles which however is not is current usage. But *aḷavu* is suffixed to the present participle and to the past participle, e.g. *ceykiṟa aḷavu*. *ceyta aḷavu*. He states that instead of *um* the infinitive *āka* is added, e.g. *ceytataṉ*, *aḷavāka-p-palaṉ varum*, now also as *ceyta aḷavāka-p-palaṉ varum aḷavu* also takes the dative in the modern usage in the same context, e.g. *ceyta aḷavakkup-palaṉ varum*.

(4) *māttiram* in the sense 'alone' is a noun and is always preceded by another noun, e.g. *nāṉ māttiram*, *itai māttiram*.

(5) The particles above mentioned are prefixed to this also. It is suffixed to the three participles. Then it is the same as

'as soon as", "immediately" The ablative *il* comes in elegantly, e.g. ' nī ceykiṟa māttirattilē '

'VARAIKKUM'

Varaikkum and *maṭṭum* are contrasted; *varai* means as a noun, 'a limit'. It is often used in the dative with the conjunction *um*, meaning 'as far as', 'until', 'upto'. *Varaiyum* is not given by Beschi who gives the form *varaikkum*. The form with the locative i.e. *varaiyil* is also found used in modern colloquial and classical literary dialect. 'Maṭṭu' meaning a "termination or boundary" is a noun used by itself in every case. e.g. *maṭṭillāta maṭṭillātavaṉ, maṭṭōṭiru*. with the conjunction *um* suffixed to this and the whole suffixes any noun.

Then the whole phrase means 'unto' or 'until', e.g. *innāḷ maṭṭum*. It is also suffixed to the noun taking the dative, e.g. *anta ūrukku maṭṭum*, 'as far as that town". In modern usage this phrase means ' to that town alone.' To this also are prefixed the particles above mentioned.

' ATIKAM '

The word *atikam* corresponds to the word 'more'. He says it is not declined and is used after a dative. The interrogatives used as relatives make the following constructions possible.

' evvaḷavu atikam vaḷarntaṉō ; avvaḷavu atikam maṭaiyaṉāṉāṉ. It will be seen that ō is added at the end of the first part of the sentence.

COMPARATIVE

The method of expressing the comparative has already been explained. *Pārkka* or *pārkkil* according to Beschi, is also used and they always require an accusative. The word *kāṭṭilum* was also used in the sense of the subjunctive, 'although'. But really it expresses only comparative; this also requires accusative.

e.g. ' cāvai-k-kāṭṭālum pāṁvaē tīmai. *pārkka* is also used to signify comparison.

e.g. 'aṟattai-p-pārkka naṉmai illai'.

The word *viṭa* also is thus used though not mentioned by Beschi. *Pārkkil* is not used alone without *um,* to express the comparative, though Beschi gives the example 'aṛattai-p-pārkil naṉmai illai. It is very doubtful whether he could have heard any such sentence.

'UṬANĒ'

Uṭanē has been reduced to a particle and is used at the beginning of sentence, where it modifies any verb following it and means 'immediately' or 'quickly'. e.g. *uṭane vā*.

He states that to give the sense of 'as soon as' it is added to all the particles, *ceykiṟa uṭanē, ceyta uṭanē, ceyyum uṭanē.*

But one must add that it does not occur except after the preterite participle. e.g. *ceyta uṭanē.*

When suffixed to a noun it has the force of the case sign *oṭu*. When prefixed to the verb *paṭu* it means "assent or consent". Finally it is suffixed to the word *oruṅku,* meaning 'together', e.g. 'oruṅkuṭaṉ eḻuntārkaḷ'.

'ILLĀMAL' ETC.

Illāmal or *Illātē* or *iṉṟi* means 'without'. *Allāmal* or *allātē* or *aṉṟi* means 'besides'; these occur ofter an accusative or nominative.

'ĀṈĀLUM' ETC.

Āṉālum or *ākilum* or *āyiṉum* when prefixed to a sentence means 'however'. If put after any part of a disjunction they correspond to 'or'. e.g. *ivaṉākilum.*

(2) The word *eṅkilum* may also be used in this sense and in this way. e.g. *avaṉeṅkilum.*

(3) If any one of these four comes after only one word, not repeatedly, it means 'at least or even'. e.g. 'avaṉai ākilum vara-c-col'.

(we must add they are really words of interrogation).

(4) Added to any word of doubt, they convey a sense disjunctually universal.

It contrats *um* with these words so suffixed.

'ĀM'

(1) *Ām* is used absolutely in the sense of 'yes' in response to an enquiry concerning the essence and not the existence. For the latter the response is *uṇṭu.*

(2) When suffixed to a noun or a verb in vulgar use, it implies doubt. In modern usage it serves the purpose of an impersonal statement like the English usuage, 'it is learnt'.

(3) If we discourse of a future thing it implies not only doubt but also certainty. One may add that if it shows certainty, it is capable of being substituted by the word *ākum.* If there is an implication of doubt it can be substituted by the phrase, 'ippaṭiyāmākkum'.

(4) If ē is added to *am* Beschi states it will imply a certainty. But it does not do so in colloquial usuage.

(5) When *ām* is suffixed to a verbal noun, according to Beschi, *ām* means 'it is possible'. One has to add that it may also signify the force of the auxiliary *mai* as seen in the modern usuage.

'ONṞIL' ETC.

Oṉṟil or *oṉṟe* is used as a disjunctive. e.g. 'oṉṟil itu oṉṟilatu'. 'pāvatai viṭuvatoṉṟe narakatil viḻuvatoṉṟē'. But the examples are very doubtful. In the place of these we have *oṉṟu* or oṉṟō as is made cleared by the modern usuage.

'PŌL'

As for 'pōlē' he distinguishes three usuages. (1) Coming after an accusative case it signifies 'so as'. But the accusative case sign is not essential as may be seen from the modern usuage, 'avaṉ pōlē' Here it is a particle of comparison.

(2) By changing *a* to *ā* or by adding *a* to the particles of future it signifies 'as soon as'. He gvies the examples 'eṉṉai-k-kaṇṭā-p-pōlē ciṉantāṉ.' But 'ceykiṟāp-pōlē' or 'ceyyumā-p-pōlē' i.e., the 'pōlē' added to the present or future participles does not give this meaning. As he points out, all these three participles signify "as" as in the first usuage. These 'ceykiṟa-p-pōlē' etc. are really the contractions of the forms like 'ceykiṟa vāṟu pōlē' etc.

(3) Added to the subjunctive 'if' i.e., *āl*, signifies 'as if', e.g. 'eṉṉai nakittāṟ pōlē'. He calls it, barbarism to use like 'nakaittāppōlē'.

'IṬAIVIṬAMAL'

'Iṭai viṭāmal is an idiomatic phrase meaning "without interruption' or "continually". It is really a phrase of a locative noun compounding with a verb.

'ILLĀVIṬṬĀL'

Illāviṭṭāl is a phrase which means "otherwise". Here also Beschi speaks of the subjunctive *illātāl*. But as already pointed out, there is no such form available.

'OḺIYA'

'oḻiya' or *tavira* idiomatically is used so as to correspond to the preposition 'besides'. e.g. 'itu oḻiya vēṟē vaḻi illai'. 'itu tavira vēṟē vaḻi illai'.

It is also used with the subjunctive like 'vantāl oḻiya'.

'ORUPAṬA' ETC.

orupaṭa or *orumikka* is used absolutely in the manner of the adverb 'conjointly, together or at the same time', that is, these are distinguished from *ākā*

'ĒṞAKKUṞAIYA'

ēṟakkuṟaiya is a phrase that comes to mean 'more or less or about'.

'AṞA'

Aṟa is used absolutely to be equivalent to the adverb 'perfectly or entirely.'

'CŪḺA'

'Cūḻa' used absolutely means 'around'. It has the meaning of the preposition,it follows the accusative. e.g. ' eṉṉai-c-cūḻa vārunkaḷ'.

'KIṬṬA'

Kiṭṭa used absolutely means 'near'. To be equivalent to the preposition 'near to', it requires a dative or an accusative, and sometimes a genitive. e.g. *atukku-k-kiṭṭa vai*; 'avaṉai-k-kiṭṭa-p-pō'; 'eṉkiṭṭa vā'

One may add that it is used more or less like a locative case sign in modern dialects.

'VILAKA'

Vilaka used absolutely means 'afar off'. e.g. 'vilaka-p-pō'.

'KAṬUKA' ETC.

Kaṭuka or *muṭuka* is equivalent to the adverb 'hastily or quickly'. e.g. 'kaṭuka vantāṉ'; 'muṭuka-p-pōṉāṉ'

To this is opposed *meḷḷa* 'slowly'. e.g. 'meḷḷa-p-pō'.

'VALIYA'

valiya in the manner of the ablative absolute means "by one's own impulse, spontaneously or voluntarily". This infinitive should be differentiated from the adjective *valiya* 'strong or brave'.

'MAI'

Beschi winds up this section with his remarks on *mai* which he calls the word which adds a special force and elegance to a sentence.

(1) Added to substantives or adjectives it makes them abstract nouns. e.g. *kaṉṉimai, āṇmai, taṉmai, putumai, orumai.*

(2) Added to the participles of the present or the preterite it forms a verbal. e g. *paṭṭamai, irukkiṟamai.* But the latter is found only in the forms 'irukkiṉṟamai' both in literary and colloquial usuages. Beschi adds that these verbal nouns are never used except in the Ablative, 'paṭittamaiyāl', 'irukkiṉṟamaiyāl'. He speaks of the Ablative *il.* But that is not found except in the form *irukkiṉṟamaiyiṉ* or *paṭittamaiyiṉ.*

(3) *Mai* is joined to the negative participle after removing the final *ta.* Then it is used in every case, mood and signification of the absolute noun. e.g. *poṟāmai* etc.

It has to be stated in passing that Beschi in the case of every verb mentioned above, traces the forms to the respective third person singular present tense verbs.

VII. WORDS OF DAILY USE—NUMBERS

NUMBERS

The last chapter deals with various things specially necessary for daily use. This is important as showing the forms which were in use in Beschi's age. The first section gives the numbers in Tamil up to one crore. *Oṉṟu* was pronounced also as *oṉṉu*; *iraṇṭu* as *reṇṭu*, *paṉṉiraṇṭu* as *paṉireṇṭu*; *mūṉṟu* as *mūṉu*; *nāṉku* as *nālu*, *aintu* as *añcu* *aṟunūṟu* as *aiñūṟu*. Thousand one hundred etc. were expressed as 'āyiratti oru nūṟu' etc. *nūṟāyiram* was used as the more frequent alternant for *lakṣam*.

FRACTIONS

The fractions are also given with their symbols. *muntirai* = 1/320; *araikkāṇi* =2 *muntirai* *kāṇi* 4= *muntirai*; *mā* is 1/20 (4*kāṇi*); *mākāṇi* or *vīcam* = 1/16; one fourth is 2 1/2 *mā*, 4 *mā* is1/5 *kāl* is one fourth *arai* is half, and *mukkāl* is three fourths.

ADJECTIVES

When two numbers occur, if the second noun begins in a consonant, *ē* is interposed; 'kōṭi' means ten millions and also a new unwashed cloth. In that sense it behaves like an adjective.

The numbers, except one, can be placed either before or after a noun; *oṉṟu* occurs only as *oru* or 'ōr' before a noun. The other numbers one to eight have an additional elegant (before consonant) form to be placed before noun, *iru* or *īr*, *mu* or *mū* *nāl*, *aiñ*, *aṟu*, eḻu, *eṇ* respectively for numbers one to eight.

MULTIPLICATION

The Tamilians always multiply the smaller number by the larger number, e.g. 'eḻumūṉṟu.' The reverse will be barbarous. 'But this restriction' as he himself points out "does not apply to the more elegant idiom" and it must be added that it does not apply also to the current usuage. *Pattu-p-pattu* (ten tens) was pronounced *paippattu* etc., because in his time, the larger number occurred in the sense of 'six times' 'seven times' etc. in the multiplication table from ten downwards. The table starts

from ten which has 10 lines viz. 10 × 10 to 10 × 1; it goes on decreasing till we get for one only one line 1 × 1 once's one is equal to one"; because twice one etc., are ruled out. But in modern lines, since we have become accusomted to English multiplication table, this restriction does not hold good.

ORDINAL ADJECTIVE

The original adjectives are formed by adding the participle *ām* to any number except number one which when standing alone has got the ordinal adjective *mutal* or *mutalām*

ORDINAL ADVERB

For ordinal adverb 'firstly etc.' *āvatu* is added instead of *ām*. *mutalāvatu*; *iranṭāvatu* etc., *mutal* 'meaning beginning' gives certain; idioms—viz., *mutalāy*, 'nāṉmutalāy aṟiyēṉ' 'even I do not know; *mutalāṉa* and of this sort', *paci mutalāṉa*; *mutaṟkonṭu* 'from that time'.

APPELATIVES

There are also appellatives formed from numbers *oruvaṉ*, *oruttaṉ orutti*. The adjectival form here takes on the gender suffix with some empty morphemes like *tt;* with reference to nouns other than one this sex distinction does not find a place; *iruvar, mūvar*. *nālvar*, *aivar* get, thus the epicene suffix; Others are not in use in vulgar language. This *iruvar* is not placed before a noun like *manuṣar* (But these too could be put in opposition with each *manuṣar*.)

SINGULAR ETC.

For expressing the Latin singuli, the first syllable of each number is repeated in the shortened form as a prefix. Singuli will be *ovvoṉṟu* and in that way *ivviranṭu*, *mummūṉṟu* etc. He points out that the form "by fives" is *aivaintu* and not *aiyaintu*, probably the form was *avvaintu* or *avvañcu*; *aiyaintu* however is in current use in modern times.

WORDS OF DAILY USE: MEASURES

The second section deals with measures. *Kalam*, a kind of bushel, as Beschi points out, consists of 12 *kuṟuṇis* one kuṟuṇi consists of 8 'nāḻi'; one 'nāḻi' consists of 8 'āḻākku' and one 'āḻākku'

consists of 5 *cuvaṭu*, *Kuṟuṇi* is otherwise called *marakkāt;* we have also 'uḻakku' (2 'āḻākku') *uri* (1/2 'nāḻi') *patakku* (2 *marakkāts tuṇi* (4 *marakkāls*). The final *m* of *kalam* in a compound, becomes *ṉ* to which *ē* is added.

WORDS OF DAILY USE—RELATIONSHIP

The third section deals with the names of degrees of consanguinity and affinity. Both these, in latter times, are denoted by the term *muṟai* or *uṟavu.*

'takappaṉ' or 'appaṉ' — father or father's brother

'periyappaṉ' — father's elder brother

'ciṟṟappaṉ' — father's younger

'tāy', āyi, 'ammāḷ' — mother, mother's sister, or the step mother

'periāyi' mother's elder sister

'ciṉṉāyi' mother's younger sister

'pāṭṭaṉ' father's father or mother's father

'pāṭṭi' father's mother or mother's mother

'appāyi' father's mother

'ammāyi' mother's mother

attai — father's sister, wife's mother or husband's mother

'ammāṉ', 'tāymāmaṉ' mother's brother

'kūṭappiṟantavarkaḷ', 'cakōtaraṅkaḷ' brothers and sisters the same father and mother

'aṇṇaṉ, tamaiyaṉ' elder brother either by the same father and mother; or son of the brother of one's own father or of the sister of one's own mother

'tampi' — a younger brother with the same extension

'akkāḷ *tamakkai,* ācci' an elder sister in the same way

'taṅkacci, taṅkai' a younger sister with the same extension

'macciṉaṉ' husband and wife's brother respectively one with the other; or even first cousins who are born not of two brothers or two sisters but of a brother and a sister.

'maccinęci' wife's younger sister or a woman born of the sister of one's own father or the brother of one's own mother.

'kolunti' wife's sister being older than her

'koluntaṉ' husband's brother

'nāttaṉār' husband's sister

'puruṣaṉ, pattā, āmpuṭaiyāṉ' etc. husband

'peṇcāti. peṇṭāṭṭi, isttiri' etc. wife

'cakalaṉ' those who have married two sisters are mutually so called

'ōyppiṭiyār, ōrakatti' those who have married two brothers are mutually so called

'cakkāḷatti' many wives are mutually so called when one man may have either at one time or may have separately

'māmaṉ and māmi' husbad's wifes' father and mother

'marumakaṉ and marumakaḷ' son-in-law and daughter in law: or also with respect to a man, his sister's son and daughter, but with respect to a woman her brother's son and daughter

'makaṉ and makaḷ' son and daughter, either one's own or with respect to a man his brother or with respect to a woman, her sister's

'pēraṉ and pētti' grand-son and grand-daughter as well in the direct line as in collaterals

'paṅkaḷi' cousins, sons of two brothers.

The word *ār* which here implies, not interrogation, but respect is frequently joined to these nouns. Thus they are said as 'takappaṉār', 'tāyār', 'mamaṉār', 'mamiyār', 'tamaiyaṉār', 'tamakkaiyār' etc.

WORDS OF DAILY USE—DAYS ETC.

Section IV deals with days, months and years. 'kiḻamai' or 'tēti' etc. 'nāḷ' is the day 'kiḻamai' is the day of the week; (to-day 'kiḻamai' is used for a week 'tēti' is the date with respect of the month; it is the day of the moon's age. The day is divided into 60 'nāḻikais' and 24 minutes each. One *noṭi* is equal to

4 seconds. The days of the week are called after the planets. He says "there is no name for week" but we must add there is the word *vāram*. The month is *mācam* or *mātam*. The other form *māstatai* is not clear. The Tamils have 12 months. The days of the months greatly vary. The months are named after the stars, *cittirai* etc. The year is *varuṣam* or *āṇṭu* but the age of man or an animal is denoted by the noun *vayacu* or *pirā-yam*. The Tamils use a cycle of 60 years. They also reckon after the age of the world, *yukam*. He also refers to *saka*, era. He explains the conception of *pañcāṅkam*.

WORDS OF DAILY USE—COMPASS ETC.

The section V deals with compass, signs of the zodaic and the phrases of the moon. The 4 principal directions are *tikku* or *ticai*, 'kiḻakku' or 'kīḻticai' is the east; *mērku* or *mēlticai* is the west; *terku* or *teṉticai* is the south, *vaṭakku* or *vaṭaticai* is the north. The four angles are called *mūlai* e.g. 'teṉkiḻakku', *teṉ-mērku*, 'vaṭakiḻakku, *vaṭamērku*, He refers to Indra etc. being cossidered as presiding over these angles. The nouns denoting *ticai* have the adjectival form 'kīḻ', *mēl*, *teṉ*, and *vaṭa* respectively.

The twelve signs of the zodaic are enumerated as *mēṣam* etc. These are all Sanskrit names. The changes of the moon are also important. The new moon is *amāvācai*; the full moon is *pavurṇaimi* or *povurṇāmi amāvācai*. The latter is curious, as it is no longer in use. A fortnight of increasing or waning moon is called *pakṣam* or *pakkam* in Tamil. The increasing fortnight is *cukkila pakkam*, the waning fortnight is *kiṣṇa pak-kam*. These are also called *pūruva pakkam* and *amara pakkam* respectively. They days of the moon are called *piratamai*, the first day' etc. *cutta* is used as denoting something belonging to the increasing fortnight while *pakuḷa* is used of the waning fortnight.

VIII. GENERAL

Index:—Section VI is a very useful portion of the book giving the correspondence of the particles, adverbs etc of the English language with Tamil words. This is a kind of an index so useful to beginners.

In closing, it may be pointed out that Beschi, as already shown, has a great contempt for vulgar language and it is with this contempt he closes his book.

"Moreover, I know, that in every part of this country, the inhabitantsuse a definite peculiar mode of speaking, and severally reject many expressions, and add many—which however I have not judged it necessary to give, for as much as in Europe also, he who would teach a foreigner the Italian language, for example, would be satisfied to teach him the common idiom, which the educated everywhere speak; and certainly would never propose to him, what, in every corner, the lowest people, either barbarously supplant or improperly suppress. And, in like manner, I have judged it right, that not the abuses of the ignorant, but the rules of the Tamil Idiom, should be imparted to beginners. Let them know what may be said appositely, and they may be able to reprove even the Natives if they make mistakes; experience without labour will teach the rest".

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